HUMAN EVENTS

YOUR WEEKLY WASHINGTON REPORT

THIRTY-FIVE CENTS

May 15, 1965 Vol. XXV. No. 20

Human Events is published weekly by HUMAN EVENTS, INC., 410 First Street, S.E., Washington, D.C. 20003 • Second class postage paid at Washington, D.C. and other mailing offices.

$12.50 per year

NEWSPAPER

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U.S. troops and tanks move along a Santo Domingo street.

Soldiers distribute milk and other food to Dominicans.

The Real Story of the Dominican Crisis

By RALPH DE TOLEDANO

Very reluctantly, the press has begun to recognize that the crisis in the Dominican Republic is Castro-Communist in inspiration and leadership. Even the flat declaration by President Lyndon Johnson that the United States had to move in order to prevent a repetition of the Cuba tragedy has been met by knowing smirks on the part of a few press pundits.

The true story of the Dominican revolt, the steps that led to it, and the background of ignorance and perfidy which set the stage remains untold. From unimpeachable sources, some of which must remain unidentified in this account, I have pieced together this frightening story. It is being set down here because public knowledge may strengthen the President's hand and prevent another Cuba-type deception on the American people.

Point number one in this sordid tale is the fact that the United States came within inches of repeating the same terrible mistakes which led to the installation of a Communist regime 90 miles from the American coast.

This account begins with the overthrow of the Trujillo dictatorship in the Dominican Republic and the eventual election of Dr. Juan Bosch to the presidency. From the start of Dr. Bosch's political ascendancy, the same groupings within the State Department which had suppressed Fidel Castro's Communist and terrorist past insisted that the Dominican politician, though a left-winger, was anti-Communist. This argument was used when there were protests over the open espousal of the Bosch candidacy by the Kennedy Administration and the State Department.

After Juan Bosch became president, U.S. intelligence agencies began to receive ominous reports. It was determined that President Bosch's right-hand man was a Communist *apparatchik*. Arms were being smuggled into the country from Cuba and distributed to the Communist underground. A special "militia" was organized under the direction of Bosch's Red lieutenants. And a pro-Castro guerrilla army began making raids in the countryside.

For seven months pro-democratic and pro-U.S. Dominican leaders pleaded with U.S. representatives. They wanted the Kennedy Administration to use its good offices with President Bosch, to warn him that further submission to the Castroites would not be sanctioned by the United States. To this, the State Department answered that this country could not interfere. Dr. Bosch, the middle echelon team told the press, was simply allowing left-wing parties to exercise their civil liberties.

That one of those "parties"—the June 14 Movement, named after the date on which an invading force from Cuba had attempted a landing in Trujillo's state—was led by Castro-trained activists and financed by Communist Cuba was not made known.

Finally, a military junta took matters into its own hands. To prevent what was clearly in the works—a Communist takeover—the junta overthrew the Bosch regime on Sept. 25, 1963. The Kennedy Administration immediately withdrew its military and foreign aid missions and cut off all Alliance for Progress funds.

For three months the new government, inheriting the shaky finances of Bosch's incompetence and cut off from American help, slid downhill. Simultaneously, the Castroite guerrillas flourished. The State Department's middle echelon appeared unconcerned, but sudden panic at the White House led President Johnson, new to the job, to restore American aid.

The path ahead for the new junta, led by the Scottish-Dominican Donald Reid Cabral, was not an easy one. Juan Bosch, who had fled to Puerto Rico, agitated for his return to power. His agents moved back and forth between San Juan and Santo Domingo. All pretense at disassociation from the Communists was dropped—and Angel Mielan, a leader of Bosch's Dominican Revolutionary Party (PRD), was careless enough to be arrested on American soil carrying Communist documents.

Quiet requests from Reid Cabral and the junta that Juan Bosch be asked to settle elsewhere, rather than on an island so close to the Dominican Republic, were ignored. Charges that Bosch and the PRD were actively plotting the overthrow of Reid Cabral were filed and forgotten when it became known that the former Dominican president had the support and protection of Puerto Rico's eccentric governor, Luis Munoz Marin.

At the same time, the Dominican Republic's military junta was urged to encourage "free political activity"—a beautiful sounding slogan which in reality meant readmitting the Communists of various shades and allegiances who had flourished under Juan Bosch.

It was at this time that the seeds of the present Castroite revolt were planted by Dr. Bosch's PRD under the local leadership of Angel Mielan, in a "united front" with Castroite, Soviet Communist and Chinese Communist subversive movements.

That the action was planned in Puerto Rico can hardly be denied. While Donald Reid Cabral, head of the junta governing the Dominican Republic, was improving the island's economy, ridding it of corrupt generals and other officials, and preparing for a free election this September, the forces of subversion were busily plotting their revolt. Ousted leftist President Juan Bosch was spending large sums in newspaper ads and in taped radio broadcasts attacking the Reid Cabral government.

For more on Dominican situation see page 4.

In June, 1964, Bosch publicly predicted "a violent revolution from within by those who are not permitted to make a gradual revolution." This was the signal for an assault on the military barracks at Victoria. Exploding bombs killed 10 people and maimed 111 others. The attackers fled to the campus of a nearby university where they were given asylum as "students."

Seven strikes against the government led by Communist-led labor groups shook the government. The Castroite June 14 Party agitated openly for revolution. The National Students Federation, affiliated with Castro's student international, openly espoused the guerrilla cause and led bloody strikes against academic authorities, ostensibly in protest against entrance examinations which were characterized as "serving the Yankee imperialist oligarchy."

Efforts by the U.S. Immigration Service to block the traffic between Puerto Rico and the Dominican Republic were swiftly blocked by the administration of Gov. Luis Munoz Marin. The Central Intelligence Agency, aroused by the reports of its operatives, sought to mobilize some sentiment in Washington for the Reid Cabral government. Whether the matter was taken up by the National Security Council is a question wrapped in the enigma of executive privilege.

Certainly, the State Department's middle echelon was aware that Bosch's

(Continued on page 6)

Send HUMAN EVENTS to Centers of Influence.

Start a tidal wave of conservative understanding and action. See page 16.

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Mario Savio (left), leader of the "free speech" movement at Berkeley, and the Rev. Martin Luther King both seem to consider themselves lawmakers.

Obey Only 'Just' Laws

Judges of Their Own Cause

From the Chicago *Tribune*

Action in the name of "civil rights" is producing some strange excrescences. Dissidents at the University of California at Berkeley again have put the campus in an uproar by bellowing imprecations against the university administration for disciplining four students. The offenders extended what was represented as a student "free speech" movement into a "filthy speech" exercise.

They shouted a four-letter obscenity, flaunted it on signs, and then proceeded to the public reading of *Lady Chatterley's Lover*. All this was supposed to be the exercise of some civil right—perhaps the right to offend or shock others and to debase public morality.

When the administration summoned up enough gumption to dismiss one of the students and suspend three others for the remainder of the academic year, the "free speech" crowd, led by Mario Savio, a former student who dropped out of school to become a full-time agitator, went into disruptive protest session.

Savio offered the wholly ridiculous argument that the four students bounced by the university had been exposed to "double jeopardy" because they also are on trial in a city court for obscenity. There is no connection between a criminal offense and university disciplinary action.

The point here, however, is that the campus malcontents are not satisfied with simple troublemaking but must also assert that they are to be listened to respectfully as lawgivers. This is a delusion that afflicts a great many people—notably, as one handy example, the Rev. Martin Luther King, also a practitioner in the field of "civil rights."

The Rev. Mr. King has established to his own satisfaction that there are two kinds of laws—"just" laws and "unjust" laws. The unjust laws are those not to his liking, especially when they cramp his style as grand marshal of "marches" and "demonstrations." He has discovered a "moral responsibility" to disobey them.

It is the same with the California students, who were unwilling originally to accept university rules governing physical limitations for recruiting and soliciting in support of various political and social causes within the confines of the campus. This, in their view, was a denial of free speech, and so, by extension, was disapproval of the "right" to hurl dirty words at the heads of passers-by.

On the familiar principle that, if tolerated an inch, it is permissible to grab for a mile, the Rev. Mr. King keeps extending his area of operations. His marches have become longer and the federalized national guard must be turned out for protection at his convenience. As no one has the courage to say him nay, he is getting still more ambitious.

At Boston recently he announced that the "civil rights" mission now commands opposition to the war in Viet Nam, as, so he maintains, peace and human rights are inseparable. He might try these dialectics out on the Communists, who are spreading "civil rights" with machine guns and bombs.

He has scheduled 10 Northern cities, among them Chicago, for his double-barreled operation. Ho Chi Minh will be with him in spirit.

The Berkeley students also proceed on the strategy of grab an inch and reach for a mile. They must not only be allowed to propagandize, agitate and engage in scandalous behavior, but the university and its officers must defer to them until the point is reached where theirs is the only important voice in the conduct of one of the world's great universities.

The lesson, we think, is clear. When men are allowed to be judges in their own cause, the result is anarchy.

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MORE NEWS MANAGEMENT—The board of directors of the Associated Press has strongly condemned the blatant news management of the Administration in South Viet Nam. In a statement approved last month, the board rapped the "pseudo-censorship which keeps reporters away from the source of the news [and which] goes beyond anything that was found necessary in World War II or the Korean War."

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EGYPT ASKS half a billion dollars in U.S. aid. The State Department is relieved to know that Nasser has at last forgiven us for forcing him to burn those American libraries.—By Lyn Nofziger in the San Diego *Union*

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"IN POLITICS, where immediate success is attained by saying what people can be made to believe, rather than what is demonstrably true, accent is generally placed on the desirable rather than on the possible."—Raymond Moley

The ILO: A Communist Plaything

From the Cincinnati *Enquirer*

It has been a long fight and at times a lonely one, but William L. McGrath of Cincinnati, who made democracy work through the management of the Williamson Co., has proved his original estimate of the International Labor Organization as an apparatus in which the United States foots most of the bills, and the socio-Communist planners reap the harvest of propaganda.

The ILO was a hangover (a term descriptive in several senses of the word) from the original League of Nations. Mr. McGrath attended five of the annual conferences of the ILO in Geneva, and in 1954 and 1955 he was the head of the U.S. employer delegation.

Initially, it was intended to have each participating nation represented by an employer delegation, by an employe delegation and by a governmental delegation.

As Mr. McGrath discerned, the Communist and Socialistic fellow-travelers drew all their representatives from the same herd. In a Communist country, the governmental delegation was Communist, the employe delegation was Communist and the "employer" delegation was Communist. To fill out the picture, many of the delegations from Socialist states hewed to the theory that the best way to contain communism is to let it have its way.

An important United Kingdom Labor representative said to Mr. McGrath during the 1949 era (in effect): "What are you employers so concerned about? Why don't you just give up? Within a few years from now there won't be any free enterprise left anywhere in the world. All business will be run by government."

Thus, instead of finding the ILO an organization that would try to promote peace and improve the lot of working people everywhere, Mr. McGrath learned they were proposing the outlawing of all privately-owned insurance, and ranging far afield from the professed purposes of the ILO.

There were large staffs and commodious offices for the delegates, many of whom were as phony as a three-dollar bill. But the 600 seldom all attended to any tedious business. Those who took side trips to Paris, Rome and London often made it difficult to obtain a quorum. There were dinners and cocktail parties, at least one and sometimes three a day.

But Will McGrath is a conscientious man, and those days of wine and roses were not for him. When he finally found that some of the governmental representatives from the United States were going along with the play—in which the representatives could discuss *only* what was proposed by the professional ILO staff, he took the course of the honorable man he is. In 1956 he bowed out.

In 1959, the employer representatives of all the free world walked out too. Meanwhile, the United States, with only one-78th of the voting strength, was paying roughly a quarter of the wine and roses (red roses) soiree in Geneva.

It should be noted for the record that William McGrath was gaining an audience for his criticism of the ILO, among members of Congress and the American Legion, but some figures of the Eisenhower Administration were disposed to go along with ILO simply on the basis of hope.

George Meany, president of the AFL-CIO, for a time was in violent disagreement with Mr. McGrath. But Mr. Meany is nobody's fool. He is a patriot, an American dyed in the wool, and by 1962 he was telling the executive board of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions that "the ILO is rapidly being captured by Iron Curtain countries." He said if the governments and trade unions of the free world did not combat Communist infiltration of the ILO, "the time will soon arrive when you can kiss the ILO good-by."

A fortnight ago, Mr. Meany said that the AFL-CIO had become "completely dissatisfied" with the efforts of the U.S. government to combat the efforts of the Communists to turn the ILO into a political propaganda group. Politics, he said, could be debated in the United Nations. More recently, he has threatened that the AFL-CIO in June will quit the ILO.

Certain figures in our State Department still are a little too enchanted, or perhaps less far-seeing, than Will McGrath and George Meany. They seem still mesmerized by the spirit of the Elbe, or the bend of the elbow.

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MADAM CLAIRE CHENNAULT, widow of one of America's World War II flying heroes, warns: "If we Americans do not intend to surrender; if we Americans do not want the hot war, then we must win the cold war."

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THE MAXIM that governments ought to train the people in the way in which they should go sounds well. But is there any reason for believing that a government is more likely to lead the people in the right way than the people to fall into the right way of themselves? — T. B. Macaulay: *Southey's Colloquies*, 1830

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Crime Fighter Reports

Mafia Underworld Is Now Using Some Unions as Political Base

By VICTOR RIESEL

"Terrifying" is the word quietly used by the one man who should know and who now can speak freely of the Mafia's—Cosa Nostra—influence in unexpected places throughout our land.

The man is Herbert J. Miller Jr., who for the past four years has almost anonymously led the government's fight against the network of criminal syndicates and their $40-billion organized crime combines.

Miller and I talked on the first day after he left his post as assistant U.S. attorney general in charge of the Criminal Division. Quietly he used the word "terrifying" in a sociological rather than physical sense.

What disturbs this vastly knowledgeable man most about the underworld's infiltration into some sections of labor was the mobs' technique of using it as a base for building political power. "What concerns me about the mob is not only the obvious dangers of their infiltration into the labor movement, but the political power gained from being inside and the use of this influence for their own corrupt ends," said Miller, who now is in private law practice with former Assistant F.B.I. Director Courtney Evans.

"What to me was an obvious tie-in and example of political influence is the case of the thug, Tony 'Ducks' Corallo, and a New York supreme court justice. It is bad enough to see some labor units taken over, but it is worse, if possible, when we have to worry about the government—local and regional—and the courts. Be assured that this case could be multiplied across the nation."

Tony "Ducks," a buddy of convicted extortioner Johnny Dio, built his power in the underworld by controlling a number of New York area locals.

At one time he was vice president of a Teamsters union. In November, 1963 he was convicted on the charge of sharing a $35,000 bribe to obstruct federal justice. Involved in the case was a New York state supreme court jurist, who was also convicted.

What was the most important development of the four years during which Miller directed the fight on organized crime?

"It was Joe Valachi's testimony," Miller asserts. "For the first time we had specific eyewitness, participant evidence of the actual existence of a Mafia—or Cosa Nostra—which many authorities previously had refused to believe or acknowledge."

But Miller, speaking with the authority of an eminent scientist in the field, says that it is omnipresent across the land and that it does do a $40-billion business and that, if one includes membership of local unions it controls, one finds some 750,000 men and women within the business, labor and underworld operations of the Mafia-Cosa Nostra.

Where are the mobs' strongholds on the labor front?

The former Criminal Division chief points to sections of New York, northern New Jersey, Chicago and Kansas City. Each of these areas has its labor crusaders, but each has mob-imprisoned unions.

This column's own investigations reveal that the toughest mobs are in the dummy unions, the do-it-yourself unionism now spreading out of New York City right across the Midwest.

These are self-chartered units. They spring from the old Murder, Inc., gang and its self-appointed successor, the strangely silent Gallo mob.

These so-called independent unions are especially active in the swiftly growing suburbs. They set up local headquarters. They erect their own buildings. They multiply themselves like split worms. Each union has locals and the locals have locals. There are hundreds of them now spreading into other cities and controlling over 100,000 workers.

But the toughest area of all is Chicago. There the mob has infiltrated some major unions. There some of the officials are, or have been, in businesses of their own. There the grand juries have discovered unique bribery through "donations" of stock certificates to some labor men.

There, too, some political connections are powerful. Apparently there is need for a permanent Senate rackets investigating committee—and new federal laws for the assault on the underworld's underground government.

(Distributed 1965
by the Hall Syndicate, Inc.)

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Conditions in Cuba

By FULTON LEWIS JR.

Members of the U.N. Commission on Human Rights are studying an amazing document that was smuggled from Fidel Castro's infamous Isle of Pines Prison. Drafted by inmates, the 18-page report details the plight of more than 70,000 political prisoners now held in Cuban dungeons.

Five thousand "enemies of the state" are now held on the Isle of Pines, a maximum security outpost. In January, 1962 six thousand pounds of TNT were placed in the prison foundations and authorities say the explosives can be detonated whenever necessary.

Conditions are pitiful. At least 20 per cent of the prisoners are without bunks, many in water-soaked cells. Medical attention is almost non-existent.

Disease is widespread. Virtually every prisoner has been afflicted with skin disorders. Fifteen per cent of the inmates suffer from chronic bronchitis; 30 per cent from gastric disorders.

Epidemics of tuberculosis and typhoid fever have raged through the Isle of Pines. Some 50 diabetics receive virtually no treatment.

At least one prisoner has been bayoneted to death. Another four have suffered "fatal falls" in the cell blocks. Prisoners are beaten mercilessly by sadistic guards.

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PRESIDENT JOHNSON is economy-minded every now and then. There occasionally comes a day when he asks for only half a billion.—From the Memphis *Commercial Appeal.*

Demonstrations such as the recent Viet Nam protests and sit-ins such as these at the Capitol (above) give Europeans a distorted view of the temper of the American people, says former Sen. Barry Goldwater.

Demonstrators Give Europeans Bad Picture of United States

By BARRY GOLDWATER

Geneva, Switzerland—Europeans are getting an unfortunate picture of the United States. In relation to its policy of anti-Communist firmness in Viet Nam, they see us as a nation badly split in which half the people are against the Administration's action in Southeast Asia.

They take seriously the froth being whipped up on the other side of the Atlantic by left-wing pacifists, appeasers and outright Communist-front groups in support of their ill-advised demand for a cease-fire in Viet Nam.

It is difficult for Europeans to understand why a Senate band of the President's own party members has persistently taken the lead in demanding untimely negotiations over Viet Nam. It is nearly impossible for them to understand why Defense Secretary Robert McNamara has to answer a suggestion by Sen. J.W. Fulbright, chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, that the United States call a temporary halt in its bombing of North Viet Nam.

The poorly informed college students who staged a march on Washington and picketed the White House in demanding U.S. withdrawal from Asia have not been ignored in Europe. Nor have the recurrent petitions circulated by naive clergymen.

The picture emerging over here is one of a tremendous community of Americans rising up in wrath over official U.S. foreign policy. It is almost useless to explain that the pacifists and appeasers do not represent the true attitude of the American people, because these pleaders for peace at any price are getting the attention and the great body of Americans who understand we must stand by our commitments in Asia are not.

Those who demand a reversal of our avowed policy and engage in vituperation against the President and his advisers are doing the United States a grave disservice. They are treating the rest of the world to an inaccurate and misleading picture of the true state of affairs in America. They are giving lip service to those around the world who have special ideological reasons for wanting to downgrade the United States and its foreign policy. They may also be giving the Communist world an entirely unreal and dangerous impression of the true temper of the American people.

At the least, the agitators who want a U.S. withdrawal from Asia are contributing to a long delay in the start of any meaningful peace talks about the Asian problem. As long as rulers in Moscow, Peking and Hanoi believe a sizable bloc of Americans wants us to give up voluntarily, they will bide their time and hope for us to grow weary of the war in Viet Nam and ultimately surrender our cause. They have everything to gain and nothing to lose. And they have a small band of loud and active helpers in the United States.

From this vantage point, it doesn't help to realize that many of those picketing, advertising, petitioning and speaking are not aware to what extent they are playing the Communist game. In the final accounting, the dupes will bear almost as much responsibility as those who know the ramifications of their actions.

What the American dupes haven't fully realized is that Viet Nam is not an isolated action from which we can withdraw easily without impairment to our national interests. It hasn't dawned on them that we are engaged in a major confrontation with the Communist world. They can't see that their actions are making it possible for Communist diplomats all over the world to argue that "even the Americans are not in sympathy with what their government is doing."

This is a time of immense importance in world history. The United States, after a long and unfortunate delay, has embarked on a course of action which could be vital to the future of mankind. It is time for all Americans to close ranks and support their government in a way that the entire world—including the Communists—will understand.

(Copyright 1965, Los Angeles *Times*)

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EX-SEN. BARRY GOLDWATER, 1964 Republican nominee for President, when asked recently by a Spanish reporter in Madrid how best to fight communism: "Ask another Spaniard. We don't seem to know too much about it in our country."—From the New York *Daily News*

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CAPITOL CAMERA

• Rep. Charles Jonas (R.-N.C.) torpedoes the Administration myth that federal spending has been held under $100 billion. "The truth of the matter," he says, "is that 10 months of the current fiscal year have passed and spending to date has already crossed the $100 billion mark." The Administration, he says, "is currently spending money at the rate of $235,404 a minute, $14,124,290 an hour, $338,983,000 a day."

JONAS

• *The current Mrs. Juan Bosch denies it, but Peter Nehemkis (see lead story), Sen. James Eastland and the wife of the Dominican Republic's ambassador to the United States all say that Juan Bosch named a son by his first marriage, Leon Trotsky Bosch, after the prominent Russian Communist. Mrs. Bosch insists she has documentation which will prove this to be untrue, but she has yet to produce it, even though she came to this country with the specific attempt to disprove Communist allegations concerning her husband. She does, however, admit Bosch has a son named Leon. Competent observers of the Dominican Republic scene say that the records showing Bosch's son was named Leon Trotsky were in the town of Vega, but that the page revealing this was physically torn from the book where it appeared when Bosch was president.*

• New York State Gov. Nelson Rockefeller announced last week that he would seek re-election in 1966. With characteristic immodesty, Rocky praised his administration as one of the greatest in New York history. "Seldom have the people's needs been met with so much forthrightness and courage, efficiency and economy," he said with a straight face.

ROCKEFELLER

• *The president of the South Carolina chapter of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the Rev. I. DeQuincy Newman, has said that Negroes in his state need no outside help in registering to vote. "In the last four years," he says, "there has been a 147 per cent increase in Negro voter registration without any outside invasion." Registration of Negroes increased from 58,000 in 1960 to more than 150,000 in 1964. "I think this is one of the best records of voter registration anywhere in the South," Dr. Newman said. "I think that record speaks for itself as to whether or not we need outside assistance." (South Carolina would be one of the few states covered by the Administration's "voting rights" bill.)*

• Rep. Durward Hall (R.-Mo.), who broke the news that the government was opening first-class mail, has introduced a bill to end what he calls the "invidious practice of seizing first-class mail under an 'arrangement' that has existed between the Post Office and Treasury Departments since 1962." A similar bill has been introduced in the Senate by Edward V. Long (D.-Mo.), head of a special subcommittee investigating this government practice.

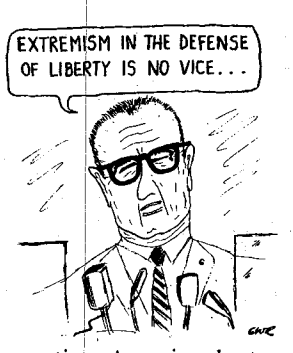
HALL

• *Some conservatives in the Nation's Capital are talking about this GOP ticket for 1968: Former Vice President Richard M. Nixon and Sen. Peter H. Dominick of Colorado. While political fortunes may change before 1968, a Nixon-Dominick ticket is felt to be among the best bets at this time.*

This Week in Washington

The Bosch Threat

The anti-Communist community in the Nation's Capital has been applauding President Johnson's decisive action in the Dominican crisis. The sending of some 16,000 Marines to Santo Domingo was considered the bold counter-stroke necessary to head off a Castro-style take-over of the island. Dr. Guillermo Belt, a former top-ranking Latin diplomat and one of the most knowledgeable authorities on Central and South America, says "The move has helped to regain some of the prestige America lost at the Bay of Pigs."



What caused the President to act was massive evidence of Communist penetration of the rebel movement supporting exiled poet-politician Juan Bosch. The government has listed the names of those Communists and their sympathizers who held important posts in the rebel "provisional government" and charges that pro-Communists were in such strategic positions as the head of security and the office of attorney general.

A key figure in the direction of the rebel forces was identified as Manuel Gonzales Gonzales, a Spanish Communist party activist who had been working with the Dominican Communist party.

Bosch's own party planned rebel strategy in joint meetings with the Moscow-directed Communist party in the Dominican Republic. By May 1—just a week after the revolt began—idealistic Bosch supporters admitted the rebellion was in Communist hands and one, Pena Gomez, so informed an American embassy official (for additional details on Communist penetration of the Bosch movement, see cover story by Ralph de Toledano).

While the President is getting support for his attempt to prevent another Cuba, diplomatic observers stress he would not be in the position of having to use such stringent measures as gunboat diplomacy—something even anti-Communist Latins feel must be resorted to only in extreme circumstances—if it had not been for his government advisers to begin with.

For Juan Bosch and his entire movement were almost completely the creations of the State Department, the Central Intelligence Agency and the far-left Americans for Democratic Action, whose members saturate American diplomatic positions.

A highly informative account of this is told in a book which has become a best-seller in Washington since the Dominican crisis. The book, *Latin America—Myth and Reality*, was written by Peter Nehemkis, a lawyer specializing in Latin American affairs.

Nehemkis, who helped John Kennedy form the Alliance for Progress, was appointed by the Organization of American States to monitor the 1962 elections in the Dominican Republic which saw Bosch come to power. (Seven months later Bosch was ousted by another coup.) Attending Bosch's inauguration was Vice President Lyndon Johnson.

Nehemkis writes that the American government set the stage for Bosch's assumption to power by playing "a key but secret role in the conspiracy which led to Trujillo's assassination on May 30, 1961." He recounts that Bosch was among the first of the exiles then to return and that he received American backing.

"Between his election and inauguration Bosch was warmly received in Washington by President Kennedy. Bosch was the chosen instrument for the Alliance for Progress in the Caribbean." The Nehemkis account is supported by numerous State Department spokesmen.

Nehemkis reveals, however, that shortly after Bosch was elected he discarded his carefully cultivated image of moderation. He gave speeches which resembled in length and content "the familiar television harangues of Havana." He violated the customary guarantees of freedom of assembly and due process of law.

"Because they were critical of his actions, Bosch arbitrarily shut down six privately owned radio stations and one TV station. He tried to bring *El Caribe* (which supported his candidacy but criticized his authoritarian methods when he was president) into line by withholding payments for the printing of official government notices and by intimations that the paper would be expropriated."

Bosch "sought to foment racial antagonism," he put in power "political henchmen," he "packed the judiciary with party followers, thus destroying its independence," and he created a phony war with Haiti. Nehemkis adds that labor was angered by Bosch's attempt to force all unions into a "government-controlled confederation" and that Catholics were disturbed over "plans to extend government control over education." Furthermore, according to Nehemkis, Bosch drew up laws so "as to pose a threat of confiscation for virtually any businessman who had ever done any business under the Trujillo dictatorship."

At the end of his seven month reign, says Nehemkis, only the Castro Communists were supporting him.

On Sept. 25, 1963, Manuel Tavarez Justo, "maximum leader" of the pro-Castro 14th of June Movement, addressed the Dominican Republic over government radio facilities. "His speech," Nehemkis writes, "was a defense of Bosch's dismal record—a record of irresponsibility, international deception and betrayal of democracy. A shocked Dominican public asked: 'Why should the leader of the Castro-Communist movement be given radio time on the government-owned station to defend the Bosch regime?' After this performance, even the die-hards wondered if Bosch—intentionally or unintentionally—was a puppet whose strings were pulled by a bearded showman on a neighboring island."

What disturbs some Latin observers today, moreover, is that even with the new revelations of Communist domination of Bosch's movement, many high-ranking government officials are still enchanted with Bosch.

Some State Department policy makers still believe Bosch would make a good president and that all he needs is a little prodding to get rid of the Communists. This view was expressed by columnist Walter Lippmann, who hopes President Johnson will "restore President Bosch" without his Communist followers.

Even more disturbing is that President Johnson has appointed as his special envoy to the Dominican Republic during this crisis a devout supporter of Bosch, John Bartlow Martin, ambassador to the Dominican Republic when Bosch was president. Among the hard-liners along Diplomatic Row it is hoped this is not a prelude to Johnson's letting Bosch gain ascendancy in a new Dominican regime.

In order to prevent Bosch from reappearing on the Latin scene, these experts suggest that LBJ clear the State Department of the very officials who sold him to the American government in the first place.

Socialized Steel

President Johnson took the country down another step toward socialism last week when he intervened in the raging steel dispute and just about directed the steel industry as to the course it should take.

The form the coercion took was a report drawn up by the President's Council of Economic Advisers at the request of LBJ. Johnson released the report himself.

The 67-page document clearly implied that the steel industry could give workers a 3 per cent increase in real wages without raising prices.

With LBJ releasing the "findings" and with the Kennedy crackdown on steel still in the minds of steel officials, the report appeared almost like a direct order.

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The effect of the document was to undercut the position of the steel industry in its present bargaining with the unions over wages. The report was released after a temporary agreement between steel and the unions had raised workers' payments 2.6 per cent and just at the time industry was arguing it couldn't pay more without raising prices.

Steel officials were known to be enraged. "What right does the President have to set steel prices or wages?" was the comment of one official. Another stressed the companies would have a tough time bucking the report, since the public tends to be convinced by such official documents and that to oppose its recommendations would "invite the people's wrath."

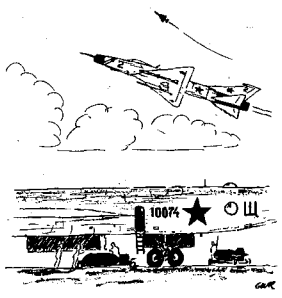
U.S. Steel Chairman Roger M. Blough scored the Economic Advisers' report and tried to explain the true position of the steel industry. Said Blough:

The steel industry's "average annual rate of increase [in output from 1957-63] was 2 per cent. During the same period hourly employment costs for all employes in the industry increased at an average annual rate of more than 4 per cent—twice as much. This gap between output and employment cost is a threat to steel's competitiveness and job-providing ability."

The council differs with Blough's estimate in saying output per man hour in steel since 1957 has increased 2.4 per cent. Even so, the council asks steel to pay its already highly paid workers at a rate higher than annual average productivity —3 per cent. Businessmen, particularly those who lined up behind LBJ during the campaign, are reported not too happy with this latest Johnson action.

Defense Phase-Out

Government officials appearing recently before closed-door sessions of the House Defense Appropriations subcommittee revealed that the United States will have less ability to knock down Soviet long-range bombers and missiles as a direct result of actions taken two months ago by Defense Secretary Robert S. McNamara.



On February 18 the Defense Department announced it was terminating the Atlantic and Pacific seaward extension of the North American Distant Early Warning (DEW) line. The "contiguous barrier patrol," according to an explanation of the order, "maintained by Navy radar picket ships 300 miles off the east and west coasts of the United States, is also scheduled to be abolished. . . Twenty-two radar picket ships, 42 Navy C-121 long-range radar air craft and three C-121 pilot-training craft are scheduled for inactivation."

"The elimination of this part of our DEW system," says one defense expert, "will cut our warning time on enemy bombers and missiles by 85 per cent."

The Defense Department has put up some strange and spurious reasons for abolishing this part of our warning system. The department, for example, insists that because it believes the Soviets are less likely to attack us with bombers—what it terms the "declining of the manned bomber threat"—that these defenses against a bomber invasion can be eliminated.

Military experts not only deny the manned-bomber threat from the Soviets—who are modernizing and stocking up on long range bombers—is decreasing, but stress that by decreasing America's protection against manned bombers, we are inviting just such an attack.

A Soviet surprise attack, it is explained, would probably be launched with missiles as well as bombers and though the elements of the DEW system to be eliminated are better equipped to spot enemy bombers, they also have limited capability to warn against enemy missiles.

Government officials also like to say that our newly developed Over Horizon Radar (OHR) can replace the parts of the early warning system to be scrapped. The trouble with this rationalization is that OHR is not operational and may not be operational for several years.

That March on Washington

Rep. H. Allen Smith (R.-Calif.), a former FBI agent whose connections with the bureau are still good, has come up with some additional information regarding that Easter March on Washington during which America's role in the war in Viet Nam was vigorously denounced.

Smith says that while the march was not Communist controlled, "Communist party members from throughout the nation participated in this demonstration. Among leading Communist participants were Arnold Johnson, Michael Zagarell and George Meyers. Johnson is the party's public relations director; Zagarell is the party's national youth director; and Meyers is in charge of the party's southern region."

In addition to members of the Communist party and the W.E.B. Du Bois Clubs, Smith recounts, "were representatives of such Communist splinter groups as the Socialist Workers party, Young Socialist Alliance, Workers World party, Youth Against War and Fascism, Progressive Labor Movement and May 2 Movement.

"The greatest number of individuals with subversive backgrounds who participated in the march came from New York City, including 78 individuals who were identified as Communist party members or sympathizers. There were also participants with subversive backgrounds from such other major cities as Baltimore, Boston, Buffalo, Cleveland, Seattle and Washington, D.C."

Rusk Admits Laos Failure

Unnoticed in Secretary of State Dean Rusk's address to the American Society of International Law was his admission that the Democratic-arranged Laos agreement in 1962 was a dismal failure. Said the secretary:

"Let's not forget the salient features of the 1962 agreements on Laos. Laos was to be independent and neutral. All foreign troops, regular or irregular, and other military personnel were to be withdrawn within 75 days, except a limited number of French instructors as requested by the Lao government.

"No arms were to be introduced into Laos except at the request of that government. The signatories agreed to refrain 'from all direct or indirect interference in the internal affairs' of Laos. They promised also not to use Laotian territory to intervene in the internal affairs of other countries—a stipulation that plainly prohibited the passage of arms and men from North Viet Nam to South Viet Nam by way of Laos.

"An International Control Commission of three was to assure compliance with the agreements. And all the signatories promised to support a coalition government under Prince Souvanna Phouma."

Rusk then went on to say that "at no time since that agreement was signed have either the Pathet Lao or the North Viet Nam authorities complied with it. The North Vietnamese left several thousand troops there—the backbone of almost every Pathet Lao battalion. Use of the corridor through Laos to South Viet Nam continued. And the Communists barred the areas under their control both to the government of Laos and the International Control Commission."

The chief American champion of the Laos agreements, it is recalled, was W. Averell Harriman, the same person President Johnson has said he will use to sound out the Communists on Viet Nam.

The CED Pushes Red Trade

The Administration's drive for East-West trade received new impetus last week as the celebrity-laden Committee for Economic Development called for stepped up commerce with the Communist bloc.

It is not surprising that several members of the CED's research and policy committee are listed with the Clerk of the House as heavy contributors to the Johnson-Humphrey campaign. One, William Benton, is an ultra-liberal former Democratic senator from Connecticut. The chairman of the committee, Theodore O. Yntema of the Ford Motor Company, was formerly a close associate of Defense Secretary Robert McNamara.

CAPITOL CAMERA

• Labor "wizard" Willard Wirtz, who did his bit to end the much-needed bracero program, now admits that domestic farmers will need crop pickers during the coming months. In order to ensure farmers a proper labor supply, the labor secretary is now recruiting from 15,000 to 20,000 high school students who will be trained to perform bracero-type work in the summer.

WIRTZ

• *The "impeach Earl Warren" cries may be getting under the chief justice's skin: Last week he wrote the 6-to-3 opinion for the Supreme Court upholding the State Department's travel ban on Cuba. The dissenters in this case—Justices Hugo Black, William O. Douglas and Arthur J. Goldberg—usually side with Warren.*

• Proponents of continued development of manned bombers, such as the B-70 now under test, received some good news last week. Air Force Chief of Staff Gen. John P. McConnell told a National Press Club audience that there was danger in the belief that because of missile technology growth, the manned bomber was obsolete. Said McConnell: "I am convinced, that for the foreseeable future, there will be continued need for a considerable number of bombers and for a variety of manned systems." Defense Secretary McNamara has up to now refused to allow the Pentagon to go ahead with full development of a B-52 replacement, although flight testing of the controversial B-70 is under way.

McCONNELL

• *Only three senators and seven congressmen —all liberal Democrats—voted against LBJ's emergency request for an additional $700 million to support the Viet Nam and Dominican operations last week. They were Sens. Ernest Gruening (Alaska), Wayne Morse (Ore.), and Gaylord Nelson (Wis.); in the House, Rep. George E. Brown (Calif.), Phillip Burton (Calif.), John Conyers (Mich.), John G. Dow (N. Y.), Don Edwards (Calif.), Edith Green (Ore.), and William F. Ryan (N. Y.).*

• LBJ is pumping for his "Great Society" programs with the cry that there is large-scale unemployment in the United States, but recent analysis of the jobless figures by experts reveals that nearly 20 per cent of the 3.74 million reported jobless in March are married women whose husbands are usually working; that 10 per cent more of all unemployed are teen-age girls and that teen-age boys make up another 12 per cent of the unemployed. Hard-core unemployment—those jobless for six months or more—is not really very high. At present, this category includes only 135,000 married men with families out of a total work force of over 70 million.

JOHNSON

• *Fans of John F. Kennedy were jolted last week when President Johnson made what many feel was an attack on Kennedy's policies on Latin America—especially Cuba. What caught the eye of JFK enthusiasts was this remark of LBJ's on the Dominican Republic situation: "We don't propose to sit here in our rocking chair with our hands folded and let the Communists set up any government in the Western Hemisphere."*

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Income Tax Withholding

Mr. Ruml Had a Clever Idea

By DICK WEST in the Dallas *Morning News*

April 15 might well have been called Beardsley Ruml Day. On second thought, it shouldn't.

The late Mr. Ruml, an economist for Roosevelt's New Deal, conceived the cute little idea of a withholding tax as a "painless" method of paying the federal government.

In the days before big spending, big taxes and Ruml, you settled up with Uncle Sam once a year—all in a lump sum. I well remember the first time (it was March 15 in those days) I had to pay—a whopping $9. At that time it looked like $9,000.

Each year it got bigger. War clouds gathered, and Mr. Roosevelt began shifting his budgets from relief and welfare to national defense.

The U.S. Treasury needed more money, and a steadier flow of it. The public was taking a dim view of so much spending and a tax load which had tripled since Mr. Roosevelt took office in March of 1933. There was a huddle of the Brain Trust.

Let us make the payment of income taxes simple and painless, said Ruml, so that the subjects of our realm really won't notice it. Like the installment plan at the department store.

"The American people are accustomed to credit purchasing. They are honest and do not mind paying their obligations if they—the obligations—are spread out thinly."

Hardly a soul, Ruml reminded, can buy a car or buy a home in one lump sum, but everybody can have both if they pay by the month.

There is no way to finance a world war, the Brain Trust was told. Except painlessly.

Henry Morgenthau was secretary of treasury, and off he went to the important Ways and Means Committee of the House of Representatives on Capitol Hill—the select group which considers all tax legislation.

Ways and Means heard for the first time the idea of a withholding tax—the Ruml plan—and Mr. Morgenthau in presenting it told the committee that 80 competent economists were behind the idea.

The committee didn't think much of it. That was in the spring of 1941. In November of 1941, the treasury secretary pitched it on the committee table again. And again it was rejected.

Then came Dec. 7, 1941. We were in war. We had to have money—and money fast—for aircraft, flat tops, subs, oil tankers.

Mr. Morgenthau went to the committee again—this time early in 1942—but his approach was more ingenious. He called the withholding system a "Victory Tax" and promised it would be only for the wartime years . . . an emergency . . . a "temporary" device to whip Hilter and Tojo.

This did it. The tax law written in the autumn of 1942 provided for a 5 per cent "Victory Tax" on gross incomes, to be "withheld" from salary checks.

It was made permanent in June of 1943, applicable to all federal tax on personal incomes.

Is the withholding tax constitutional? The law, and the Constitution, are what the courts say they are, of course.

Can a company be forced to serve as a tax collector without compensation for its time? It is done so every week, or every two weeks, or every month. The company is also forced to serve as bookkeeper and can even be penalized for errors in trying to observe the intricate rules of tax laws.

The Thirteenth Amendment says: "Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States . . ."

Beardsley Ruml, just before his death in 1960.

Does "involuntary servitude" mean the forcing of somebody—in this case, an employer—to be a tax collector and a bookkeeper for the government without compensation?

Under the Fifth Amendment, is an employer who is forced to maintain an entire department to keep records on taxes being deprived of property without due process of law?

No doubt about it, next to the income tax itself—which became a part of the Constitution in 1913 as the Sixteenth Amendment—Beardsley Ruml's clever idea of a "painless" payment really spurred what we now call big government. He found the way to finance it.

When the Ruml scheme was conceived, the Treasury was collecting about $7 billion a year in income taxes. The total last year was $79 billion.

In the 21 years since we've had the Ruml plan $1 trillion, 42 billion, 481 million has been collected.

Washington was grabbing an average of $30 per person in taxes when the New Deal came to power and Ruml became part of the Brain Trust.

By 1940 this figure was only $43.34.

Then came withholding. By 1950, the $43-per-capita figure had jumped to $264.60 and the latest figure was $597.74. Individual income in the last 20 years have increased 400 per cent. But the collection of income taxes has increased 3,400 per cent.

The nest egg of $70 to $80 billion a year which the government can count on every year from income taxes—personal and corporate—assures the financing of an extensive federal operation.

For that, Mr. Ruml can take full credit.

What would happen, one wonders, if the average taxpayer had to pay up once a year in a single lump sum as he used to?

How many of us could rake up $500 or $5,000, by midnight April 15th?

In brief, what if the withholding tax were eliminated? Big government would shrink. It would have to. The flow of funds would cease to finance it.

But it goes on, for Mr. Ruml had an idea.

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Cont'd from Page 1

Real Dominican Story

PRD had entered into a working arrangement with the Moscow-Communist Popular Socialist Party (PSP), the Peking-dominated Dominican Popular Movement (MPD), and the Castroite June 14 Party.

Angel Mielan, leading Bosch's PRD in this coalition, claimed that his party, the largest, would not be run by the others. But since his allegiance was to the Communist bloc, his assertions were simply window dressing for naive Americans.

In the days before the revolt, intelligence sources were aware that a Communist junta had been organized to rule the "united front." At the same time, there were stirrings in Puerto Rico which indicated that Juan Bosch was preparing a return to the Dominican Republic at the head of his "allies."

The names of the members of the "unofficial" junta were well known to Latin American experts in Washington. They included Manuel Gonzales, representing the Soviet Communist Party; Carlos Dore, a PSP Communist and activist in the Dominican Student Federation; Hector Florentino, head of Fragua, a Communist student organization; and Daniel Ozuma, of the Castroite June 14 Party. Activists trained in Cuba and in Czechoslovakia, where the international Red conspiracy maintains special camps for this purpose, began infiltrating the Dominican Republic.

In typical Castro style, the Red junta began making alliances with disaffected military men.

When the revolt broke out on April 24, the Communists and their military allies passed out guns and ammunition to street mobs and robber gangs. Juvenile delinquents, some as young as 12 and 14, were also given weapons. From the very start, the Communists were in control. The Bosch party, hardly protesting its "democratic" nature, went along.

From the very start of the tragedy, the developing facts were known. At any time, the revolt might have been nipped in the bud—had there been the will to do so among the boys of Foggy Bottom. The intervention by President Johnson came at the 11th hour. Another few days and the Dominican Republic would have joined the roster of America's enemies. Only the U. S. Marines stand between us and that eventuality.

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Supreme Court Invalidates Louisiana Law

Internal Security Still Needs State Action

From the Nashville *Banner*

Sanitation is nice—an exemplary trait, related to good health—and somebody has further underscored its virtues by asserting that cleanliness is next to godliness; but even the most hygienic-minded mother draws the line at throwing Baby out with the bathwater.

Due concern for everybody's "rights" requires that government at every level be circumspect in writing and enforcing laws—lest at some given point they infringe on elementary freedoms. But here again there are basic considerations not to be lightly treated to the disparagement of public duty where the lines of responsibility run.

That is why the states look with some dismay at the recent U.S. Supreme Court decision invalidating Louisiana's anti-subversive law. The question left unanswered is how far a state may legally go in checking on suspects and acting to control what its own authorities designate as subversive operations.

In a Pennsylvania case a few years ago the state law was invalidated on grounds that federal law in the same general statutory area superseded it. That argument isn't advanced, however, in the Louisiana case. This time, the 5-to-2 ruling rested on the premise that the state law was unconstitutionally vague in defining a "subversive organization," and that it was an "overly broad" statute creating a "danger zone within which protected expression may be inhibited."

By Louisiana's charge, there were subversive trappings in the Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc., formerly the "Southern Conference for Human Welfare." Under the law (now reversed) members accused of such connections were required to register with the state's Department of Public Safety if they remained in the state five consecutive nights.

Up to a point, the decision speaks for itself; clearly a dismantlement of state law, and a victory in that particular for James Dombrowski's organization, headquartering now in New Orleans.

Louisiana does have a responsibility, as has every state, to legislate for its own security—within, of course, the constitutional framework. Federal laws prove to be vague sometimes, too, and beset with loopholes; but that does not obviate the necessity of drawing and enforcing statutes for the public protection.

There are subversives. As the FBI's J. Edgar Hoover has warned over and over again, they infiltrate; they do attach themselves to valid organizations. They get in their innings that way, and in many guises. And a state would be remiss in a paramount duty if it ignored the fact and let down the bars.

Louisiana may have written a law too imprecise in its definitions. It can enact a new statute correcting that flaw. What America needs to guard against, nationally and at the state level, is a cleansing process so overly zealous on the culprit's side that it blithely and blindly tosses security out the window.

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What Does It Take to Jolt U.S. Public?

The American people have become too complacent about Congress' actions

By JAMES JACKSON KILPATRICK

For the past couple of weeks the papers have been filled with breathless accounts of Mr. Johnson's first 100 days. The record is something to marvel about, sure enough, but if the mood for marveling is upon us, we might better marvel at the dismaying apathy with which this record has been greeted.

It is the strangest thing. In two bills alone—aid to education and Medicare—the Congress has launched this republic on programs of profound significance to our whole society. These innovations ought to be the subject of sidewalk discussions, letters to the editor, debate in public halls. For them or against them, the people ought to be taking sides, getting excited, making plans. But the people are bored stiff.

What does it take to jolt the American public into awareness of what is going on? There was a time, and not long ago, when the aid-to-education bill would have stirred up a terrible fight. The issue of church and state would have provoked wild howls from the Bible Belt; states righters would have run up the Confederate flag and charged on the specter of federal control; the Senate would have taken two weeks for a great debate.

Nothing of the sort occurred. Mr. Johnson's capable firemen wet down the sparks with great blankets of foam. The Bible Belt proved as quiet as Sunday morning in Savannah. A dispirited House never bothered to debate questions of principle; the House debated questions of money. And the U.S. Senate merely murmured a faint amen.

The bill is law. It will funnel more than a billion dollars in direct federal aid to the public schools next fall—aid that will amount in many cases to 30 per cent of a locality's budget for school operation. The implications are awesome. But who's awed? Who's angry? Who's delighted?

Still more puzzling is the public's yawning indifference to the medical care bill that floated through the House on April 8. This is the most sweeping welfare program since the Social Security Act was passed in 1935. It intimately affects every family and every wage earner in the country. The new tax levels in themselves should have aroused a noisy reaction. Yet the people are as docile as sheep in a meadow. The people couldn't care less.

It's baffling. In the Appalachian program, the Congress established a precedent that will mean billions in boondoggles in years to come. But to judge from the papers in the affected area, Appalachia isn't especially exuberant, and nobody else is mad. Henceforth and forever, federal schemes for relief of the poor shall be with us always; the prospect has produced nothing more than mild grumbling at the high salaries of the poverty administrators.

In one way or another, each of these ventures represents a significant expansion in the role of the state; each of them subtracts from the responsibility of the individual, and each of them adds to the functions of government. Decisions that once were made locally will be made from now on in different ways. New networks of rules and regulations gather us in.

We have been witnessing in these hundred days the most serious growth of statism since Roosevelt's New Deal, and more is yet to come. The "government money" that already exerts so strong an influence upon science will be channeled, before long, into the arts and humanities as well. Mr. Johnson's far-reaching plans for remaking our cities are working their way through committee.

In July, the almost forgotten "Title VII" of the civil rights act of 1964 will go into effect, and thousands of employers will become subject to new controls over their employment practices. Meanwhile the daily Federal Register swells with a rising flood of executive orders and agency decrees.

None of this seems to sink in. No complaint is heard at the steady erosion of our federal system. An apathetic bar seldom protests the Supreme Court's rewriting of the Constitution. One by one, the checks and balances slip away; few persons sense that anything is missing.

Now and then the anesthetic wears off, and public opinion erupts as it erupted over the violence in Alabama, with a response that is strong and genuine and uncontrived. There is a whole lot of life in Mr. Goldwater's lonesome legions; and on the opposite side of the spectrum, some honest emotion doubtless motivates the pacifists who would surrender Viet Nam.

But these are rare patches of rough water on an otherwise placid sea. The people were not wildly in favor of Medicare or aid to education; they were not wildly opposed to these programs either. It is a cud-chewing time we live in, contentedly as cows that freely give milk in return for beneficent hay.

(Copyright 1965, *Newsday*)

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UNION TERRORISM—Employes who refused to join a strike at the Murray Ohio Co. in Lawrenceburg, Tenn., recently were the victims of a reign of terror. Lawrence County Sheriff Harold Brown reported that unidentified snipers repeatedly struck with bullets and buckshot automobiles driven by non-strikers.

□ □ □

EVASIVE—The New York *Times*' Tom Wicker recently reported that members of the Washington press corps are disappointed in the President's news conferences: " . . . Mr. Johnson is seldom directly responsive to questions and almost never startling in his remarks, and as a result these big network shows are not awaited here with the eagerness that some have been."

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Taxpayers Should Complain

Government Neglects Billions In 'Counterpart Funds' Abroad

By HENRY J. TAYLOR

Secretary of State Dean Rusk and embarrassed Treasury Department officials caught napping on an abused mountain of money are trying to tut-tut the taxpayers' $3-billion bonanza abroad. Fellow peasants, beware! It's a snow job.

The cover-up concerns our public's money in the form of foreign currencies allowed to accumulate unduly in what Washington calls "counterpart funds."

The enormous U.S. Treasury deposits abroad, snafued by treaties that should be renegotiated, accrue from local-currency payments for commodities and goods our government has sold overseas—chiefly agricultural products under Public Law 480. The catch is that the payment money must be spent inside the countries.

The Treasury admits its deposits in one country after another are so overabundant that we cannot conceivably employ them to build new U.S. embassies, agency hangouts and whatnot. Globe-trotting congressmen, official junketeers and designated insiders riding a gravy train are handed such money abroad—free.

Two months ago this column produced a series contending that counterpart funds abroad good enough to give to favored official joyriders free are good enough to sell—sell—to plain, ordinary American travelers who have no inside track.

In addition, the Treasury could sell drafts on its local currency deposits to international airlines, travel bureaus, corporations sending dollars abroad to pay their operating expenses, etc.

Our Treasury would obtain American dollars right here at home and give value to our foreign billions at the same time. The result would transfer money from the scandal-ridden bonanza back to our taxpayers' account where it belongs.

Readers' responses grew to the point that the State and Treasury Departments are now mimeographing the form reply. This misleading document tries to trot the proposal downhill by claiming that "in most cases there would be no lasting gain for the U.S. balance of payments."

Why not? And listen—clang, clang—to the final claim that ends the mimeographed answer: "Every effort is being made to utilize excess foreign currency to the maximum extent possible to benefit the U.S. balance of payments." Hokus, hokey, hokum.

Let's look at the record.

Take just airline tickets, for example. While our gold goes down—down and out—U. S. agencies are unnecessarily spending an estimated $2.3 million annually for air tickets instead of utilizing the billowing bonanza. The State, Treasury and Defense Departments, the Agency for International Development, the U.S. Information Agency and other bureaus are not carrying out their responsibilities. Moreover, they've failed to adhere to their own regulations.

These statements aren't mine. They're the official findings of the government's own Office of the Comptroller General. And I have them before me in black and white.

Instead of accepting the State-Treasury self-serving whitewash, blessings be, the Office of the Comptroller General pursued its own investigation of the $3-billion nest egg. It finished its report on April 15. The title itself is revealing: "Failure to Effectively Utilize Excess U. S.-Owned Foreign Currencies." The pages bristle with "full advantage is not being taken," "failed to use," "management has been lax," "despite the expressed intent of Congress and the executive branch," etc.

In only seven countries cited by the comptroller general the projected annual dollar expenditures for air tickets alone exceeds $1.1 million met in dollars instead of cashing in on available counterpart funds.

Take Indonesia. In only three sampled months the Treasury shoveled out $271,000 fresh (taxpayers') dollars for tickets while its Indonesian rupiah deposits sit bursting in Jakarta banks.

Moreover, our tax dollars were mostly used to transport Indonesians participating in U.S.-financed economic military assistance programs—likewise free.

I quote the comptroller general's report, pages 14-15: "The State Department did not aggressively pursue this matter. It received a telegram from the Jakarta embassy stating that negotiations to use rupiahs for international travel had been unsuccessful. The department accepted this telegram and the position of the Indonesians without attempting further negotiations."

Now Sukarno has cut the rupiah exchange rate and our taxpayers have lost $130 million in the Treasury's deposits!

The embarrassed State and Treasury officials have been asleep at the switch and their mimeographed alibi is neither truthful nor acceptable. Public exposure is our taxpayers' only hope in this outrageous issue.

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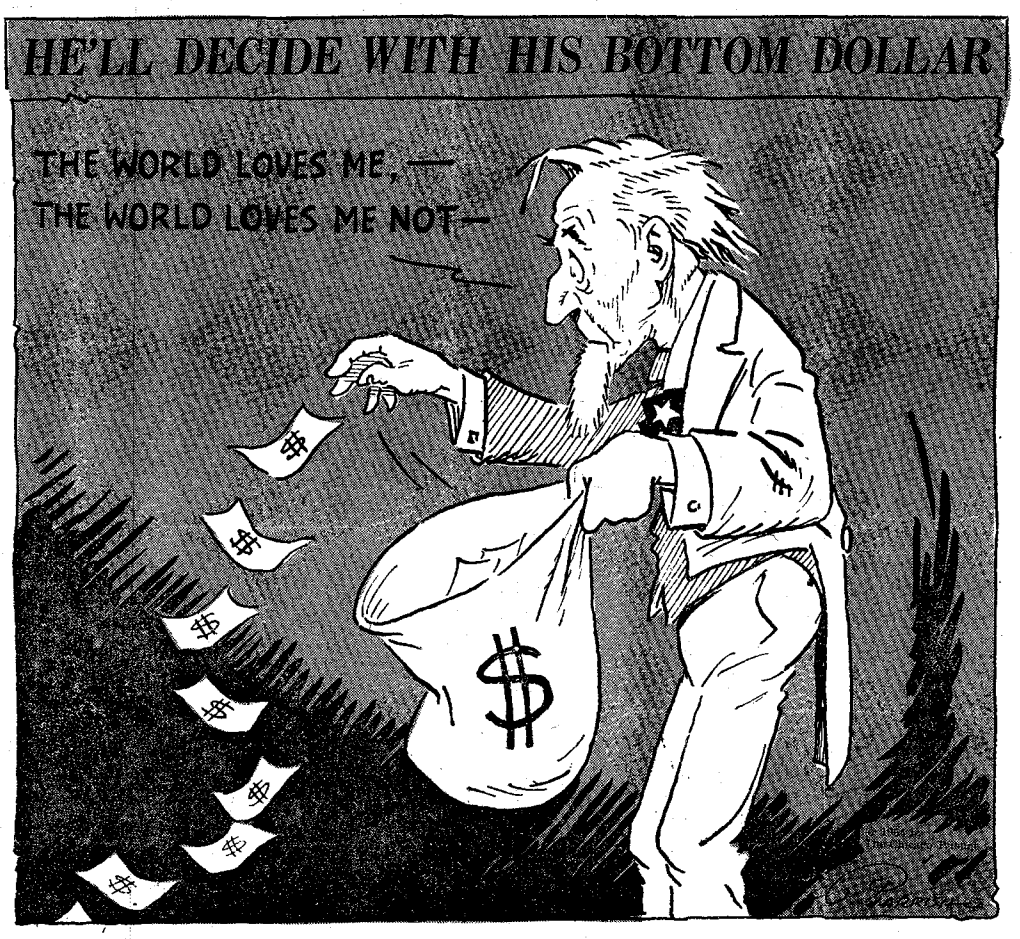

Why Keep Things Secret From Mao?

By JOHN CHAMBERLAIN

I don't know what the U.S. Information Agency, the State Department and other Washington agencies are managing to convey to Moscow and Peking about the temper of this country. But someone ought to be getting it through to our cold war enemies that the joint is jumping in the United States with ideas for carrying forward our fight for the integrity of South Viet Nam.

These ideas don't get the headlines that the beatnik "peace" marchers and the young isolationist graduate students (love that ivory tower!) have learned how to command by stopping the traffic in front of the White House. But they are percolating nonetheless, and if we had any finesse in psychological warfare we would be telling Russia and Red China about them in coldly insinuating terms.

To pick one example, Issac Don Levine, an old cold war hand from away back, has been making speeches to Air Force groups about the nature of guerrilla warfare. The job in fighting guerrillas in South Viet Nam, he says, is to drive a wedge between the guerrilla bands and the communities: "Separate the guerrillas from the population!"

One of his suggestions is to offer a bounty in the form of schools, and hospitals to half a dozen picked South Viet Nam localities for the surrender and delivery or liquidation of local Red terrorists in the neighborhood. On satisfactory proof of the destruction of the local Viet Cong a community would get a new hospital and a new school, to be administered by the village's council of elders. Mr. Levine suggests that Washington devote a $250 million crash budget (equal to the cost of 125 days of fighting) to finance such a program.

Another good "psywar" ploy would be to collect and disseminate the proposals that are cropping up hither and yon for a "second front" in the struggle to break the Communist drive to take over South Viet Nam. A number of people have suggested that the United States might look with favor on some intensified raids on the China coast by Chiang Kai-shek's Taiwan Chinese.

The strategic island of Hainan, which is separated from south China by a 10-mile-wide strait, could be seized and defended by the Taiwan Chinese if the United States would only lend-lease some instruments of amphibious warfare to Chiang Kai-shek. Moreover, with increased amphibious capacity, the Taiwan Chinese might play havoc with China's coastal railroads.

A task force study put out by the American Conservative Union in Washington contains a number of good suggestions from members of the academic community who should be exempted from Secretary of State Dean Rusk's charge of professional gullibility. River warfare, so it is pointed out by these professors, has been neglected by the South Vietnamese—and "a crash program to develop fleets of suitable armed small craft should be given highest priority."

Red China's Mao Tse-tung

Anti-crop chemicals might be sprayed on the opium crops that are raised in North Viet Nam for surreptitious export to the West. This would not only deprive the Communists of foreign exchange; it would also simultaneously strike at something that is a demoralizing influence on Western youth.

Finally, Washington should give full publicity abroad to the argument of those who insist that it might be a good thing if Red China were openly to enter the war in Viet Nam. In the event of such intervention there would be no need to commit American soldiers to fighting on the continent of Asia.

It would be enough to bomb Red China's fledgling atomic sites and its industrial complexes out of existence, meanwhile offering Chiang Kai-shek enough landing craft and air cover to enable Chinese to fight Chinese. It should be drilled home to Mao Tse-tung that Japan was beaten in 1945 before a single U.S. soldier had set foot on the Japanese islands. Our occupation of Japan was actually an unnecessary flourish.

It's too bad that the late C.D. Jackson, a founder of Radio Free Europe who once headed a psychological warfare task group for President Eisenhower, isn't still with us. He would have been just the man to let Mao Tse-tung know that the U.S. tiger has not been bereft of its claws.

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Tower Substitute for Voting Rights Bill

From the Dallas *Morning News*

The *News* has said in the past, and will say again, that a new voting-rights law is unnecessary. This is not to deny that discrimination has been practiced in some states to prevent members of minority groups from registering to vote and casting ballots. Nor do we maintain that fraud, trickery and irregularities in voting have been entirely eliminated.

But there is ample law already on the books to deal with these problems, if state, local and federal officials would use the authority they already possess to deal with them. It appears, however, that this is not to be done. Caught in an emotional whirlwind and under heavy pressure from all sides, members of Congress seem determined to enact a new voting-rights bill.

If we must have another law on the subject, at the very least that law should be constitutional, fair and aimed carefully to correct the problem at hand. It should not be of questionable constitutionality, punitive or so aimed that it is likely to create new problems and evils.

This is what Sen. John Tower of Texas is trying to achieve by offering a substitute for the Administration's voting-rights proposal. His substitute may not be perfect, but it is a great improvement on the original.

Sen. Tower strongly supports the principle that the right to vote must be guaranteed to all citizens without discrimination. He also believes that the Constitution clearly grants to the individual states the right and responsibility to set voter qualifications.

Finally, he believes that, while the federal government has no authority to establish or limit such qualifications, it does have the power, under the Fifteenth Amendment, to ensure that whatever qualifications are established by the states must be equally applied and administered without discrimination.

The Administration's voting-rights bill, says Tower, would both exceed the limits of constitutional power in attempting to deal with part of the problem and fall short of exercising legitimate authority by ignoring other problems with respect to voting rights.

The Administration's bill is excessive in that it would strike down voter qualifications and provide for federal officials to take over the election and registration machinery in a handful of states. But it is deficient, and discriminatory, in that it would exempt most states from this type of regulation, even though denial of voting rights exists in those states, but in a lesser degree. It totally ignores voting abuses which are not directly related to discrimination on the basis of race.

Tower's substitute bill would ensure that the states could continue to set voter qualifications, but would provide

SEN. JOHN TOWER (R.-Tex.)

the federal government with ample authority to guarantee that those qualifications are used fairly, uniformly and without discrimination. His substitute would also provide additional machinery for dealing with fraudulent voting in federal elections. This is certainly a major improvement.

While on the subject of fraud, it is well to recall that, nearly 100 years ago, in 1871, Congress enacted a Reconstruction voting-rights law which was very similar to, though did not go quite as far as, the Administration's currently proposed law. The 1871 legislation led to so much election fraud, corruption and other abuse that Congress was forced to repeal it in 1894.

Civil Rights Hints on Viet Rile Presidential Advisors

By VICTOR LASKY

Concern is being expressed in Washington over links between civil rights groups and the Communist-sparked "stop bombing North Viet Nam" movement. Militant civil rights workers have been increasingly active in demonstrations aimed at curbing U.S. influence in Southeast Asia.

President Johnson himself reportedly is annoyed that the Negro struggle for equality should become enmeshed with a ticklish area of foreign policy. And he was particularly irritated by remarks attributed to the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King on Viet Nam.

Asked about the relationship between the civil rights movement and the organizations seeking "peace" in Viet Nam, the Rev. Dr. King replied that he saw all such movements as having a common goal of peace with justice. "It is either non-violence or non-existence," he said in Boston. "What good does it do me to integrate a lunch counter if the milk I drink there is loaded with Strontium 90 [from nuclear fallout]?"

Exactly what Dr. King was trying to say is difficult to fathom. Presumably it is his contention that continued fighting in Viet Nam may bring on a nuclear war threatening the existence of civilization. Therefore, it would be better to be "Red than dead."

This has long been the line peddled by the Communists. Nothing would better serve the Marxist purpose than to weaken the free world's will to resist Communist aggressions.

But it would be wrong to assume that the Rev. Dr. King and his pacifist cohorts are deliberately seeking to aid the Communist cause. Dr. King, at least, is aware that there is no future for the black man under communism except that of enslavement. The maltreatment of African students behind the Iron Curtain, including several murders, is no longer a carefully hidden secret.

Nevertheless, the record does not demonstrate any public protest on Dr. King's part against Communist shenanigans on the world scene—as when the Soviets crushed the Hungarian freedom revolt; or when the Soviets moved troops and missiles into Castro's Cuba; or when the Chinese Reds crushed Tibet and invaded India.

And just who is responsible for the fighting in Viet Nam in the first place? Is it Dr. King's contention that the United States is responsible? And when will Dr. King raise his mellifluous voice to demand that the Hanoi regime remove its guerrilla troops and leave South Viet Nam in peace?

For several years now, the Viet Cong terrorists have been butchering thousands of South Vietnamese, including children. They have bombed the American embassy in Saigon, killing Americans. Yet Dr. King remained silent. Only when the United States began bombing Communist territory, an action which has turned the tide in our favor, did Dr. King become eloquent in his outcries.

Fortunately, there are other, just as liberal, voices which fully support President Johnson's policies in Viet Nam. One such voice is that of Congressman Claude Pepper, a Democrat representing Miami. Pepper, as a U.S. senator in the 1940s, had been noted as an ardent left-winger who accepted the Russians at their word. In the intervening years, he has learned better.

The other day, in a Florida speech, Pepper announced his full support of the U.S. bombing of North Viet Nam. "If the United States tucks its tail and runs now," he said, "it will never be able to stop Communist aggression anywhere."

These are indeed words, based on considerable experience, for the Rev. Dr. King to ponder.

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Physicians and Surgeons Meet

Only People Create Freedom

From the Anaheim (Calif.) *Bulletin*

The will to be free and to enjoy the privileges of freedom cannot be stifled by merely passing a law. This is evidenced in the unamimous action taken by the Association of American Physicians and Surgeons at the interim meeting held April 10, 1965, in Chicago, regarding the Medicare bill (HR-6675), that will bring socialized, federally-controlled medical care to the people of the United States.

Quoting from the association's April 14 information bulletin: "After exhausting deliberations and careful soul-searching, the delegates concluded unanimously that ethical physicians could not and would not participate in a scheme (HR-6675) that inevitably would bring about inferior medical care.

"To do otherwise, the delegates reasoned, would mean that physicians would be derelict in their responsibilities of holding the patients' welfare to be paramount. They agreed that although the politicians are 'selling' the measure as 'voluntary,' after its inception it would become a compulsory program of socialized medical and hospital care for the aged.

"The resolution asks that all ethical physicians inform their county medical society and their state medical association of the decision.

"The indisputable evidence of the failure of socialized medical care programs in other countries compellingly persuaded the delegates that they must protect the important interests of their patients by refusing to participate in the scheme.

"The AAPS leaders pointed out that voluntary non-participation by individual physicians in any scheme deemed by them to be detrimental to their patients' welfare is legal, morally right and ethical.

"During the deliberations it was meticulously explained that non-participation was not a 'strike' which is a withdrawal of services. Individual physicians would continue to serve their patients, their rightful employers, as private patients as they have always done, but refuse to deal with a third party that intrudes into the private relationship between patients and their physicians, to the detriment of the patients."

In other words, this group of physicians will continue to work with their patients as physicians but will not accept economic or any interference from the government. It could be assumed that, as they have in the past, the economic factor will remain a private matter between physician and patient, and the patients' ability to pay without the physician being subsidized by accepting aid or payment from government.

"It was unanimously agreed that it would be advantageous to take the action of non-participation now, since the proposed legislation will cover only a small percentage of the population (the aged) rather than wait until the eventual and inevitable complete socialization of the entire population and all physicians, as the British physicians did, which proved to be a fatal error.

"It was the thinking of the delegates that most individual aged patients will continue to pay their individual physician as they have in the past. Those unable to pay—the needy—will receive physicians' services without charge as has always been done. Since many physicians are already taking care of some of the needy aged as charity patients, loss of income would be infinitesimal compared to a loss to be anticipated under a complete program of socialized medical care.

"In other words, it was agreed that now is the propitious time for the medical profession to stop retreating and make its stand in order to save their patients from inferior medical care."

The AAPS is to be lauded on their stand. It is people that creates freedom, not legislation.

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GOOD RIDDANCE DEPT.—Mario Savio, the 22-year-old leader of the Red-infested Free Speech Movement at the University of California, is quitting the movement which sparked the largest mass arrest in California history (see *Human Events*, Dec. 19, 1964). Savio said he could not "keep up with the undemocratic procedures which the university is following" in tightening campus rules which he said were "far worse than any four-letter word."

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Arts and the Federal Subsidy

By HOLMES ALEXANDER

Back in the 18th century two of Europe's greatest musicians, Bach and Mozart, when struggling young artists, applied for subsidized jobs with provincial German governments. A fellow named Telemann got the post sought by Bach. A fellow named Boccherini was chosen as more worthy of a government handout than Mozart, who subsequently died at 36 and was buried in potter's field.

These classic examples stand as evidence of bureaucracy's historic inability to tell a true artist from what the French call *artistes manque*—and now comes H.R. 6050, the "Great Society's" measure "to promote progress . . . in the arts."

Some while back, as related here, Congressman Moorhead (D.-Pa.) was pushing a bill to establish a National Humanities Foundation. It was intended simply to be a counterpart to the National Science Foundation and to correct the overemphasis on the sciences in American education.

But the Administration rewrite men have debauched that chaste idea into a gross reproduction of the old PWA, which financed would-be writers, painters, sculptors and musicians in the 1930s. The fuzzy language of the Administration bill authorizes "grants-in-aid" to "groups" or "individuals" that are "concerned with the creative and performing arts."

There could hardly be a better illustration of how the "Great Society" in prosperous times apes what the New Deal tried to do in the distressful days of depression. Thirty years ago artists, both good and bad, did live in garrets and did go hungry. Today the market for cheap and popular productions in literature, music and the graphic arts will support any creator of merit, and the economy is job-hunting for persons of lesser skills who are willing to make an honest living in business.

Our free enterprise at last has freed the genuine artist from the humiliation of living on his patron, and has offered the lacking artist a decent livelihood. The "Great Society," in this bill as in others, would fasten the iron collar of political dependence on whole segments of the population who are willing to take the patron's gold—persons who might otherwise be poor and frustrated, condemned to dismal or humdrum lives, but who at least might be strivers in the cruel and challenging environment called freedom.

In its declaration of purpose, H.R. 6050 finds that the subsidizing of artists is "an appropriate matter of concern to the federal government," because this country must be a "leader in the realm of ideas and of the spirit." But it would be hard to prove that the PWA programs came anywhere near justifying the outlay of public funds in the national interests. Only three out of thousands who fed on the federal dollar in those days come readily to mind today.

Ben Shahn, a painter, gave us a memorable but vindictive picture of the Sacco-Vanzetti death scene. Marc Blitzstein wrote the anti-capitalist play, *Cradle Will Rock*. Orson Welles, a producer, went on to better things. But the multitude of PWA artists did not begin to serve their country until gobbled up by the draft or absorbed into the war industries where FDR found his only solution to the Depression.

There is no evidence that the American people prefer to support good and bad artists out of the public treasury rather than through the process of the market place. It is unimaginable that Congressman Frank Thompson, introducer of the subsidy bill, had any such instructions from the New Jersey constituency which sent him back to his seat in November.

Last month, out of Denmark came the story of a factory workers' revolt against their prime minister's plan to finance 23 of that country's top artists. The Danish proletariat must have started reading the fine print of the welfare legislation. American wage-earners ought to do likewise.

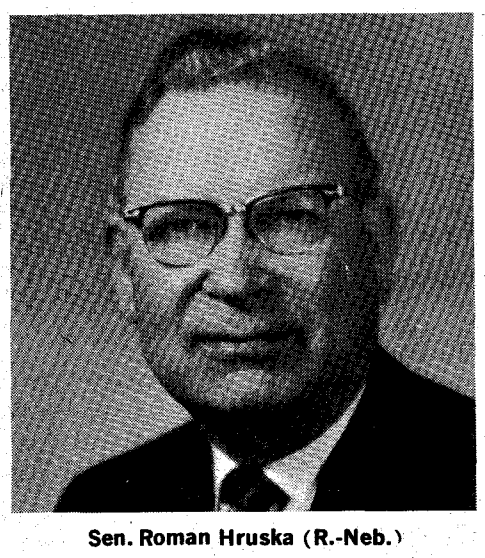
(Distributed by McNaught Syndicate, Inc.)

Sen. Hruska's Plea to Businessmen

From the Omaha *Evening World-Herald*

Speaking to the U.S. Chamber of Commerce convention, Sen. Roman Hruska urged American businessmen to crusade "against that incessant drive for ever-expanding government activity which can end in nothing less than complete domination."

Sen. Hruska said he was troubled by a survey which indicated American business is "pleased" with Johnson Administration policies, and particularly with that part of the survey which noted that free enterprise is functioning as well as could be expected in today's "complicated society."

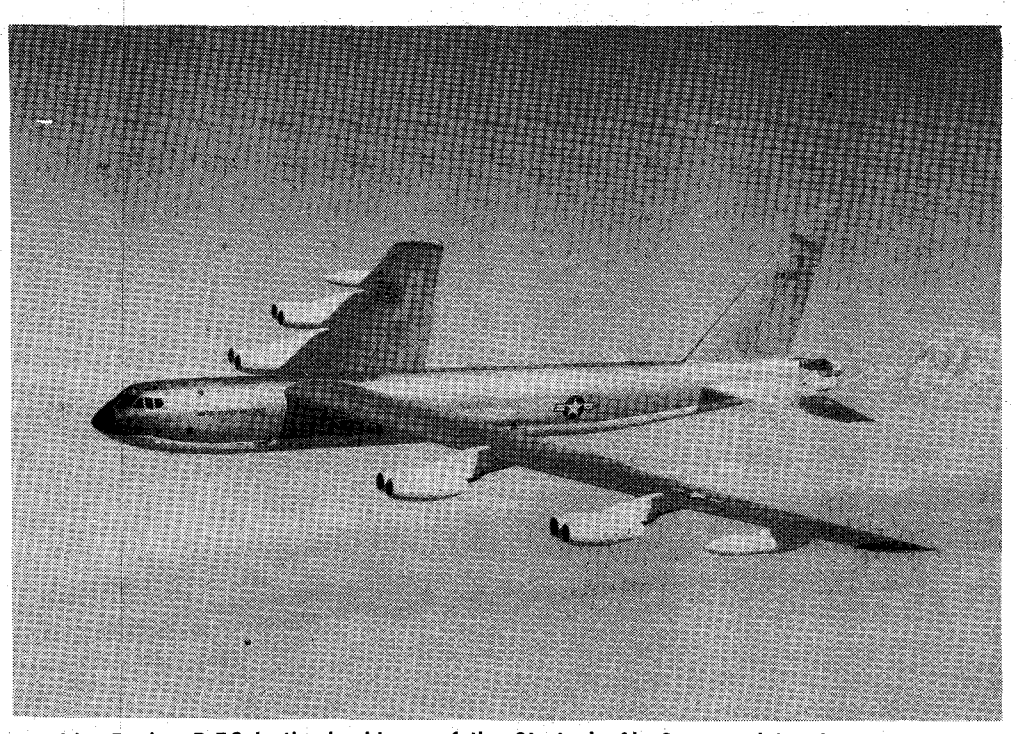


Sen. Roman Hruska (R.-Neb.)

The idea that "society" has become so "complicated" that only the federal government can manage it has been harped upon for more than two decades by politicians who seek to wield more power over the lives of the people. The notion that "new measures" of governmental control must be tolerated in a swiftly progressing age has been repeated so often that many persons who should know better have come to believe it.

The "complicated society" pitch was an old one in the days of the Roman Empire. The idea that only a centralized authority can keep men and societies from destroying themselves runs back to the camps of Genghis Khan. They are the same deceptive pleadings which plunderers of the people's rights have employed to gain power since time began.

Why people in this supposedly enlightened age should wish to burden themselves again with the same excesses of government which prodded some of their ancestors to write the American Declaration of Independence is a matter which defies understanding.



The Boeing B-52 is the backbone of the Strategic Air Command but is rapidly becoming obsolescent while Defense Secretary McNamara delays development of a new bomber.

How to Measure Military Preparedness

By SEN. STROM THURMOND (R.-S. C.)

For the fiscal year 1966, the President has requested appropriations for defense of approximately $45.153 billion, exclusive of funds for military construction, family housing, civil defense and military assistance. This is about $1.6 billion less than was appropriated for the current fiscal year. In fiscal 1965, it was proposed that 44 cents out of each dollar of federal government expenditures be spent for defense. However, next year it is proposed to spend only 40 cents out of each dollar for defense—a 10 per cent reduction.

Even this reduced amount is not a true reflection of the level of effort proposed for defense as compared to prior years. In the coming fiscal year, military pay for persons on active duty is estimated to increase by more than $30 million, although it is planned to reduce the average number of personnel on active duty by almost 20,000. Pay for retired military personnel will also increase approximately $200 million next year.

Although less money is requested for research and development for fiscal 1966 than was requested in fiscal 1965, the cost of doing research and development is estimated to increase by 3 per cent to 5 per cent, which means that each dollar spent for this purpose will buy less.

Not all of the money requested for defense contributes to military preparedness. In recent defense budgets money has been included for such purposes as the President's Commission on Equal Opportunity in Housing, the Committee on Export Expansion and even the President's Advisory Council on the Arts.

Clearly, the total of funds appropriated for defense alone is not an accurate measure of the adequacy of military preparedness, but is at most merely one indication of the comparative level of effort. The budget requests for defense indicate a diminished level of effort for next year.

Probably the most deceptive yardstick—and the most used by the secretary of defense—is that of comparative quantitative measurements of weapons. Statistical comparisons of the number of U.S. bombers and missiles and the number of Soviet bombers and missiles is rendered largely meaningless by a number of factors.

One major factor which compromises statistical comparisons is obsolescence. For example, the secretary of defense has announced that he has an "option" to keep B-52 type aircraft "in the inventory" until the mid-1970s. Unquestionably, B-52s can be kept "in the inventory" for that long, although their average age will be 15 years, and regardless of the fact that the advance in technology will have rendered them obsolete long since. They can be counted as so many strategic bombers. They will contribute about as much to military preparedness, however, as would have the open-cockpit 1926 Keystone CYCLOPS bombers in World War II, if we had kept them in the inventory until 1942 instead of building the B-17 Flying Fortress. The CYCLOPS had a top speed of 100 miles per hour.

The meaningfulness of statistical comparisons is also affected by the nature of the prevailing defense policy or strategy. If we plan to permit the enemy to strike first—as would appear to be the case with our present announced strategy—our number of weapons must be reduced for comparison purposes by those which would be destroyed or rendered ineffective by the enemy's first blow.

Other less obvious factors are equally significant. U.S. population and industry are more concentrated—that is, they are grouped in fewer and larger cities than is the case with Soviet population and industry. The Soviets could possibly, therefore, with one-sixth the number of missiles equipped with their larger warheads inflict fatalities on a greater number and a greater percentage of the U.S. population than the United States could inflict on the Soviet population.

In the final analysis, the true measurement of adequacy of our military preparedness is a balanced, experienced, professional military judgment, based on consideration of all pertinent factors. This is the yardstick which should be used.

Superficial and deceptive measurements of military preparedness may forestall and minimize public concern. However, they cannot remedy the potential consequences of inadequacies in military preparedness—war, defeat, subjugation.

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"WHILE ALL OTHER sciences have advanced, that of government is at a standstill—little better understood, little better practised now than three or four thousand years ago."—John Adams: Letter to Thomas Jefferson, July 9, 1813

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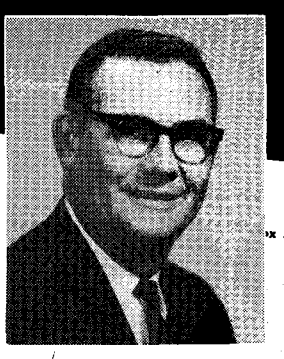

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April 5, 1965

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After reading "Human Events" for a few issues; and if you decide that it is good, I ask that you make a gift of five subscriptions to five of your friends whom you think would benefit from reading "Human Events." You may want to copy this letter substituting the names of your other friends for those above, or write a similar one. Help keep the movement alive by sending five.

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Millionaires' New Social Set: The Labor Leaders

By VICTOR RIESEL

It's becoming easier for labor leaders to fight the class war. They're being lionized by millionaire political leaders.

For some union chiefs these days, it's breakfast at the Kennedys' and lunch at the Rockefellers'. Nor do only a privileged few speak for the proletariat. They go en masse to the well-laden tables in lovely homes.

Actually it was Gov. Nelson Rockefeller who first opened his home to the labor men—from masons to musicians, from clothing to construction unions. And now New York Sen. Robert F. Kennedy is determined not to lag behind this open door policy.

Mr. Kennedy, who genially has hosted a terrace party or two for some national labor leaders in the past, now is inviting the lower echelons—en masse.

On the morning of May 5, it was breakfast for a score or more of New York's construction local union officials on the patio of his McLean, Va., home. The men were in town for the unprecedentedly huge building and construction legislative labor conference and lobbying meeting.

Bob Kennedy wanted the home state contingent in for many reasons—not the least is his eagerness to establish a mass labor base in his newly adopted state.

Relationships are not too warm on the labor front. Sen. Kennedy knows he can use some new friends in the union ranks. For some weeks now he has been seeking a full-time labor contact man to bring the fraternity closer.

Some of the 'labor leaders' are intimates of Vice President Hubert Humphrey. They see the new senator as a possible future rival of the effervescent man from Minnesota, who knows virtually all of them by their first name.

And some of the union officials, especially in the building and construction trades, are fond of "Rocky," as they call the energetic governor.

Mr. Rockefeller is an old hand at this socializing. He rarely makes a policy move vital to the labor chiefs without having them into one or another of his homes in Washington or in New York.

As recently as March 25, Mr. Rockefeller invited some 20 nationally prominent New York labor leaders to lunch at his Fifth Avenue apartment in New York. It was an off-the-record gathering and has remained unreported until this moment.

Among the guests were men from such disparate unions as the Teamsters, spoken for by international vice president Johnny O'Rourke; the carpenters, in the person of Charles Johnson; the white collar employes, represented by one of the upcoming new breed of young labor men, Howard Coughlin; and the one-man labor army, Harry Van Arsdale, who plans to add one million new members to union ranks shortly. Mr. Van Arsdale's goal is the four-hour day.

They gathered at noontime in a vast dining room which has been newly furnished—new table, new chairs, new decor. One union chief looked uneasily at the abstract paintings favored by the governor and whispered to the painters' union leader, "Bet you your men could spray canvas that way." And someone whispered, "Hush up, they're Picassos."

The issues between the governor and the labor leaders were sharp—as was the humor. Some of the new chairs, which had not been used until that moment, cracked under the carpenters' Charles Johnson and a clothing union chief, Louis Hollander. The governor grinned at Johnson and observed the carpenters were losing their skill.

But the labor leaders had not lost their touch with the political needle. The governor outlined his sales tax proposal, pointing out that the state would need over $700 million more.

They were not happy with the sales tax and even more grumpy over the governor's statement that, to keep the state competitive, he would veto a bill calling for a $1.50-an-hour statewide minimum wage.

But he made the point during the four-hour give-and-take that his plans for school, mental hospital and road construction would create 120,000 new jobs during the coming five years.

That warmed them over. Furthermore, they had Bob Kennedy's promise to fight for the $1.50-an-hour minimum wage law on the state and national front. And now some of them have the senator's invitation to breakfast on the lawn.

What a way to win a war.

(Distributed 1965
by the Hall Syndicate, Inc.)

Sen. Robert F. Kennedy (D.-N. Y.), left, and New York Gov. Nelson Rockefeller are among those wooing labor the hardest.

Learning a Trade Made Difficult

From the New Holstein (Wis.) *Reporter*

Recently we received in the mail a mat five columns wide by 12 inches deep, which is evidently one of the first salvos in the war on poverty, which we were asked to run free of charge for the government.

So did 12,000 other editors throughout the country. One paper we have seen ran the mat, big as it is. A few other editors ran the copy as a part of their personal columns. But not Bud Tischler. Rather, he went on to say:

"The mat has a big heading: 'Be Somebody,' and then tells about the opportunities for young people 16 to 21 years of age, out of school, who can't find jobs and can't serve in the Armed Forces, in joining the Job Corps.

"In the Job Corps, the youth are told, they will associate with other young people their age, eat good, learn a trade. Best of all, they get $50 a month while learning.

"Now this is a wonderful opportunity. The U.S. government is spending millions of dollars on the program. The newspapers were asked to contribute, with this first advertisement, about $600,000 worth of space and the government spent maybe $20,000 on the mat, mailing, etc.

"Why do we question it?"

Most weekly plants would gladly take youths 16 to 21 years of age and teach them a trade if they can get by with paying them $50 a month plus board and room. In fact, years ago our printing plant and others like it throughout the country did just that. And this same thing happened in virtually every trade.

But now we can no longer do that. We must pay minimum wages, including time and one-half for overtime.

Youths, who do not have financial resources, can no longer go out on their own and learn a trade because no employer can hire them except at great financial loss to the company while the youths are learning. They must go, instead, to a trade school, and if they don't have money for tuition they can't go there.

We don't know what procedure the government plans to follow with its Job Corps. Perhaps they will subsidize some of the schools to teach trades. That will mean more millions.

If we really want to war on poverty, we can do it by allowing business to have the same privileges the government is taking in this instance. If an inshop apprentice training program were allowed at reasonable salary rates, a lot of youths today walking the streets could be gainfully learning a trade. And they'd do it at no expense to the taxpayers.

However, such a program is too simple. There are no bureaucrats mixed up in it.

Perhaps the President will want to ask Mr. Meany and Mr. Reuther and Mr. Carey and the other fatcats of the AFL-CIO command post if he may have a special dispensation to do something sensible like this for our country and the young people who are caught in a bind?

To Solve Unemployment:

Work Hour Cut No Solution

From the San Diego *Union*

A myth continues to persist that the answer to the nation's unemployment problems is the reduction in the number of hours people work.

It is now before Congress where bills have been introduced to reduce the work week to as few as 32 hours by a federal law. Proponents say if the hours worked each week are cut it will take more employes to have the same production. Hence there will be more jobs.

It is a dangerous, erroneous argument that can lead to fewer jobs, greater unemployment and severe economic dislocations.

Essentially, job opportunities depend on profit opportunities. If industry has profits it can continue to expand, conduct research, compete with foreign firms in the world market and create new jobs.

Saddling industry with a higher cost per unit it produces through a shorter work week with higher overtime penalties will simply reduce profits and jobs and adversely affect the entire national interest.

Proponents of the shorter work week are making it quite clear they will insist the take-home pay must remain the same. In effect this is a 14 per cent pay increase—and five times the level declared inflationary by the President's Council of Economic Advisers.

On the other hand, if the work week were shortened with a corresponding cut in pay, many families would be forced to look for second jobs to maintain their standards of living. There would be fewer jobs for the unemployed.

Economic analysts point out that most of the unemployed in America today are in a "structural" situation. It means they are the people who worked for a declining industry, the high school dropouts and unskilled labor.

A reduction in the work week would in all likelihood raise more barriers to their finding employment. Faced with rising costs of production, industry would seek only highly skilled workers and turn to automation at the expense of the unskilled.

The growing demand for skilled workers is clearly indicated by the continually increasing amount of overtime hours that are worked, even in a time of high unemployment.

A shorter work week is possible through normal collective bargaining channels without the federal law. It has not been generally accepted by workers because generally they do not want it. The evidence is in public opinion polls and in the data on employe grievances—neither of which stresses a shorter work week.

If the government wants to reduce unemployment it can do it best by practices that help the profit system to create new jobs, not by another burden on industry which throws more competitive advantage to foreign-made merchandise.

The best help to industry would be revision of the tax structure and removal of restrictive regulations and barriers that are not in the interest of developing a more vigorous economy.

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Barry Goldwater is still the favorite of young Republicans. One reason for this is Goldwater's long history of appearing before youth groups and campuses such as this 1962 lecture before students at the University of Buffalo.

Haven't Given Up Fight

Most Young Republicans Are Still Conservatives

By MORRIE RYSKIND

The Young Republicans—by which I mean the 20-30 age group—are, almost without exception, those who were attracted to the conservative cause by Goldwater. Listening to them is like rereading *The Conscience of a Conservative.*

The same November election which dismayed their elders has not disheartened them—perhaps because they haven't had their heads bashed in so often. Indeed, organizations like Young Americans for Freedom have vastly increased their membership since the defeat—and that goes for almost all the Young Republican groups who so vigorously backed Barry.

The Arizonan is still their idol, and they have a high regard for Sen. Tower, who was for him all the way. But they are realistic, and Dick Nixon, because he supported their candidate, might readily find them in his corner. But Romney, Scranton and Rocky would find it hard to elicit even two cheers from them: they are convinced the trio betrayed them, and, like the pachyderms of the adage, these young elephants never forget. As for Henry Cabot Lodge—well, their language matches that of their elders, some hearty four-letter words.

And—make no mistake about it, no matter what the bleeding-hearts tell you—these are no wild-eyed juvenile delinquents, mouthing empty shibboleths about maintaining the status quo. These are highly literate young men who have done their homework well and know what they are talking about. Whatever you may think of their case, they have solid facts and figures to present for it: don't try to tell them what's in Title 6 or Section 14b of any particular bill, for they can quote it by heart.

If you gather I was impressed by them, I was. I watched a David Susskind TV program with half a dozen of 'em the other night, and I'd give my shirt to have any one of 'em debate that liberal spokesman. I know it'll never happen, for Susskind shows no intention of publicly committing harikari, but a fellow can dream, can't he?

These lads do not see the reversal of the Socialist tide coming from the national level: they believe the turn must come from the local areas. That is why you see them fighting so hard in their local organizations for control: to name conservative candidates for city and state offices. Those progressive Republicans who would read them out of the party may be successful in some spots—but it would be only a Pyrrhic victory, for then there would surely be no party.

But perhaps the most striking item about this young herd of conservatives is their attitude on LBJ: though they think his domestic policies are for the birds, they back his firm stand in Viet Nam even more vigorously than their seniors and far more, percentagewise, than the Young Democrats. And when you consider that if the war escalates this is the age group which will do most of the fighting and the dying, you know they are sincere.

Perhaps that adage may have to be revised, for some of the Old Guard are weakening: it is the Young Guard which dies, but never surrenders.

(Copyright 1965, Los Angeles *Times*)

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"LIBERTY IS NOT A MEANS to a higher political end. It is itself the highest political end."—J. E. E. Dalberg (Lord Acton): Lectures on Modern History, 1906

□ □ □

DANGEROUS STREETS—Pollster George Gallup revealed recently that 38 million Americans—more than one third of the nation's adult population—are fearful of walking alone in areas near their home. Forty-eight per cent of those polled said the courts dealt too softly with criminals (only 2 per cent said the courts were too harsh).

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What Christ Really Preached

From the Chattanooga *News-Free Press*

The associate general secretary of the National Council of Churches, the Rev. J. Quinter Miller, tried to defend the indefensible political, sociological and other controversial actions of the National Council in a statement delivered at Vanderbilt University recently, saying the NCC positions were taken because "we are under orders from Christ to do so."

Such claim reflects the same bad judgment that many of the National Council actions do.

If, indeed, the Rev. Mr. Miller feels conscience-stricken to take any action, he should take it only in his own name. He and his National Council colleagues have no moral right to use their positions to give the impression, directly or through implication, that they speak for the individuals in the Protestant denominations that are members of the National Council. What his conscience may tell him to do may be quite different from the convictions of the denominations and congregations and individual Christians of our nation.

But most unworthy was the Rev. Mr. Miller's effort to imply that the National Council's political and sociological activities are a result of "orders from Christ." This claim is the kind that conveniently seeks to forestall a different point of view through the implication that any who differ with the Rev. Mr. Miller differ with Jesus Christ himself. Such a reprehensible proposition is disgusting. It is also in gross error.

Our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ lived on this earth in the form of a man at a time of harsh Roman political domination; He did not try to lead a revolt against that temporal authority. He lived at a time when slavery itself was common practice; He did not agitate for emancipation. He lived when social injustices were rampant; He did not preach for legislative reforms, or for mob demonstrations against authority, or for boycotts, or for political pressures to be applied.

He preached that all men are sinners and need a Saviour, that through grace God has provided them a Saviour in the person of His Son, that all who believe on Jesus and accept His shedding of blood in His death on the cross in payment for our sins may be justified and have eternal fellowship with God. He preached for man to love God and to love his neighbor, and to go into all the world preaching the Gospel.

Those who subvert the Gospel to social reform miss its great meaning and its great opportunity.

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JUST A START—Rep. Richard Roudebush (R.-Ind.) reports the Administration will add 7,000 employes to the public payroll to administer the House-passed Medicare bill.

□ □ □

RIDICULOUS—In Little Rock, Ark., a 24-week program has been set up with federal funds to train unemployed boys for such jobs as dishwashers and porters. "It's the most ridiculous thing I've ever heard of," says the Arkansas state organizer for the hotel and restaurant employes union.

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Chamber's Actions Out of Step

From the San Diego *Union*

It is difficult to see any merit in U.S. Chamber of Commerce proposals for a softening in U.S. attitude toward Red China.

The chamber's proposed resolutions for more communication and trade with Red China are at best misplaced thinking. Its ideas to reduce U.S. sovereignty in the World Court are dangerous.

Timing of the chamber proposals is particularly unfortunate. They come at a time when the United States is engaged in a major confrontation with Red China, its avowed enemy, in Southeast Asia.

Their approval would weaken the U.S. position by dividing unity at home at a time when it is needed the most.

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"IT IS NOT THE FUNCTION of our government to keep citizens from falling into error; it is the function of the citizen to keep the government from falling into error."—Former Supreme Court Justice Robert H. Jackson

Walt Disney:

The Man Who Bucked the Trend

By DR. MAX RAFFERTY, California Superintendent of Public Instruction

If he earns your praise, bestow it; if you like him let him know it;
Let the words of true encouragement be said;
Do not wait 'til life is over and he's underneath the clover,
For he cannot read his tombstone when he's dead.

—Braley

We educators are a close-knit clan, proud of our pedagogy, devoted to our degrees, covetous of our credentials. Outsiders like Adm. Rickover who come nosing around our hunting preserves usually get the kind of treatment reserved for an umpire at a South American soccer match. The admiral, fortunately, is tough and doesn't care, but it's pretty rugged on the average fellow whom we find trespassing on our premises.

There is one shining, tremendous exception to this rule. He's a quiet fellow with no great shucks of a formal education, as I recall. He hasn't written any books that I have heard of. He's never been a college president or a professor or even a state superintendent of schools. Yet he is the greatest educator of this century—greater than John Dewey or James Conant or all the rest of us put together.

His name is Walt Disney, and he operates out of Hollywood, of all places.

Like a lot of people, he came up once, long ago, with a gimmick. It was a highly unlikely mouse with a

The movies of producer Walt Disney have been sanctuaries of decency.

twisted grin and a squeaking falsetto which was Walt's very own. It made him, and it was followed by other gimmicks: an irascible duck, a dopey dog and a cow named Clarabell. The money rolled in. This would have been enough for most of us.

Not for Walt. The gimmicks gave him the wherewithal to build a springboard from which he launched into something unprecedented on this or any other continent—compensatory education for a whole generation of America's children. The classics written by the towering geniuses out of the past who had loved children enough to write immortal stories for them began to live and breathe again in the midst of a cynical, sin-seeking society which had allowed them to pass almost completely into the limbo of the forgotten.

Before the enchanted ken of the little ones Pinnochio danced once more on unsteady wooden legs. Snow White fled the witch's envy. Little Alice talked with rabbits and went into a land which only children can really understand. And most like Walt himself, of course, there was that boy who never grew up, who never lost the wonder and the glamour of childhood, Peter Pan.

His live movies have become lone sanctuaries of decency and health in the jungle of sex and sadism created by the Hollywood producers of pornography. Walt's pictures don't dwell on dirt. They show life as something a little finer than drunken wallowing in some gutter of self-pity. The beatniks and degenerates think his films are square.

I think they're wonderful.

One of his most recent ones, they say, will make a pretty penny—Academy Awards and all that. I hope it makes him $100 million. It's about time, for all our sakes, that a picture like this came along and cleaned up, in more ways than one. [His movie *Mary Poppins* was nominated for an Academy Award this year and Julie Andrews received the Best Actress "Oscar" for her performance in the film.]

Many, many years from now—decades, I hope—when this magical Pied Piper of our time wanders out of this imperfect world which he has done so much to brighten and adorn, millions of laughing, shouting little ghosts will follow in his train—the children that you and I once were, so long ago, when first a gentle magician showed us Wonderland.

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WHAT IS THE ANSWER?—The increase in the incidence of crime is one of the biggest problems facing this nation. If we could only get the young students interested in this problem so that they would conduct sit-ins, marches and demonstrations against crime we could probably make greater headway. In 1963, nationwide, the increase in serious crime was 10 per cent, while in the District of Columbia it was 25 per cent. Nationwide we now have three criminals for every college student and while the population in the last five years has increased 9 per cent crime has increased 55 per cent. It is estimated that the cost for maintenance of prisons, jails, courts, police and the loss of money in property due to crime totaled $27 billion last year. In connection with this tremendous increase in crime I think the Supreme Court decisions on the Mallory rule, search and seizure, right to counsel, confession and taking the Fifth Amendment have pretty well handcuffed the law-enforcement officers.—By Rep. J. Arthur Younger (R.-Calif.)

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SPOTLIGHT on CONGRESS

"France has one of the Western world's most centralized, nationalized governments. Last year, the French government-owned railroad lost $20 million, and the government-operated gas company lost $7 million. The government admits that 122 nationalized industries are losing money, and that the French medicare program went broke last fall."—Rep. Glenn Davis (R.-Wis.)

Poverty Waste

By REP. CLARENCE BROWN (R.-Ohio)

More reports are reaching Capitol Hill of waste, extravagance and political finagling in connection with the so-called anti-poverty program. Charges are made that in many cities, in order to be employed in an anti-poverty project, "your precinct captain or ward committeeman must recommend you." Leon Keyserling, former chief economic advisor to President Truman and well-known liberal economist, recently stated "the solution to poverty and unemployment lies principally in the creation of new jobs and not in projects—such as the Job Corps—for the education and training of youth." The House Education and Labor Committee has been taking testimony on the exorbitant salaries paid some anti-poverty administrators, while the General Accounting Office is also scheduled to look into the matter. The Washington *Evening Star* last week pointed out: "We have in recent years poured billions of tax dollars into a bewildering range of anti-poverty, anti-dropout, anti-illiteracy schemes. Yet we have no solid evidence that our billions have been reducing poverty or the number of dropouts and illiterates." Federal-state welfare programs are costing us $5 billion a year alone. Six federal agencies are operating 41 separate anti-poverty programs for which Congress appropriated $15 billion in 1964. The Congress and the American public are entitled to know whether our anti-poverty programs actually are successes or failures.

Government Outflow

By REP. THOMAS CURTIS (R.-Mo.)

For the past few months the Administration has been urging the necessity of restricting outflows of private capital in order to lessen the strain on the balance of payments. The government has created the impression that the private sector alone is responsible for correcting the payments deficit. The facts of the matter are that the government through its own easy money policies is providing less attractive opportunities for private investment at home than those available abroad.

Polluted Spending

By REP. CHESTER MIZE (R.-Kan.)

Sometimes it is pretty hard to find any consistency in the "Great Society" even when it comes to spending money. The House just passed and returned to the Senate the Water Quality Act of 1965 which calls for the expenditure for some $150 million to do something effective about water pollution. This legislation has had good bipartisan support because all of us recognize the growing importance of cleaning up our streams and rivers. But the same people who ask us to approve this program and this expenditure are also asking us to sustain cuts by the Budget Bureau in the appropriations for the Soil Conservation Service and the Agricultural Conservation Program. The Bureau of the Budget has recommended that the Soil Conservation Service budget be cut $20 million and the Agricultural Conservation program $100 million, almost the cost of the Water Quality Act. To my way of thinking these programs go hand in hand. Unless we have funds to carry out permanent soil and water conservation practices, our streams are going to be clogged by soil run-off and sedimentation. It is the height of inconsistency in my book to start a new program at the same time you cut back on other programs which are complementary in nature. It just doesn't make sense.

Bread Tax

By SEN. NORRIS COTTON (R.-N. H.)

Remember the facts brought out a few years ago about a loaf of bread? It's old hat now, but it can't be repeated too often—2½ per cent for the wheat farmer, 24 per cent to the consumer, 151 taxes in between. Taxes paid on the salt, the yeast, the shortening, the wrapping. And here's something on bread that isn't old hat. The President just sent to the Congress a new farm bill which upped the miller's tax on a bushel of wheat from 75 cents to $1.25. He glossed this over by saying it would "increase the cost of a loaf of bread by little more than one cent." Bread is basic for the family and children. Raising it even a cent a loaf doesn't go with a war on poverty. Mind you, this bread tax is for Americans only, not for wheat sold abroad. That exempts the Russians.

More Dollars to IMF

By REP. H. R. GROSS (R.-Iowa)

Adding to the debt, deficit, commitments and borrowings of this government, the House rubber-stamped another Johnson bill a few days ago by which U.S. taxpayers will ladle out another $1 billion to the International Monetary Fund. This will bring the total U.S. contribution to that international financing agency to $5.1 billion, or almost one-fourth of the proposed $21 billion capital structure of the fund if (and it's a big if) all the other 101 member nations meet their increased quotas. To date, several of them have not done so and there is no reason to believe they will. Only recently, Congress authorized the tossing out of another $750 million as its disproportionate share of increasing the capital structure of the Inter-American Bank. Thus in a short space of time, in just two bills, American taxpayers are being made to cough up nearly $2 billion for international financing agencies. This in addition to the bill that will shortly come to the House and Senate floor providing another $3.4 billion for the annual foreign handout program. But the International Monetary Fund contribution provides that of the $1.035 billion approximately $250 million must be in gold—taken from our dwindling supply of that precious metal. At a time when we are trying to correct the critical deficit in our international balance of payments, how utterly ridiculous can we be?

Now, Let's 'Reason' Together . . .

Courtesy St. Louis *Globe-Democrat*

Wants Them in Peace Corps

Shriver Recruits 'Free Speech' Leaders

By SEN. GEORGE MURPHY (R.-Calif.)

I am appalled to read press reports that responsible government officials have visited the University of California to encourage student agitators to join the Peace Corps.

Sargent Shriver, director of the Peace Corps, is quoted in news accounts of his visit to the Berkeley campus as telling the Free Speech Movement leaders to "come join the Peace Corps."

In one breath he calls them "unreasonable men" and in the next he says they're just what is needed to represent the United States throughout the world.

Perhaps the strain of holding down two jobs at once is getting to Mr. Shriver.

The American people can hardly be expected to support either Mr. Shriver or his Peace Corps if such "unreasonable" leaders of student riots, violence, obscenity demonstrations, sit-ins and bold refusals to abide by basic college rules are being recruited to travel around the world representing America.

True, these people have no business embarrassing a great university in the transparent guise of "free speech," but the solution is certainly not found in Mr. Shriver's almost unbelievable invitation for these agitators to become public relations representatives for the American people.

Sen. George Murphy (R.-Calif.)

I would like Mr. Shriver to explain just what he meant when he told the sit-in leaders: "Once in every generaton, fundamentals are challenged and the entire fabric of our life is taken apart, seam by seam, and reconstructed. Such a time is now at hand, and it is clear you are unreasonable men . . . . . and I agree with you."

It is embarrassing and surprising to hear that beatniks are being invited to tour the world representing American youth.

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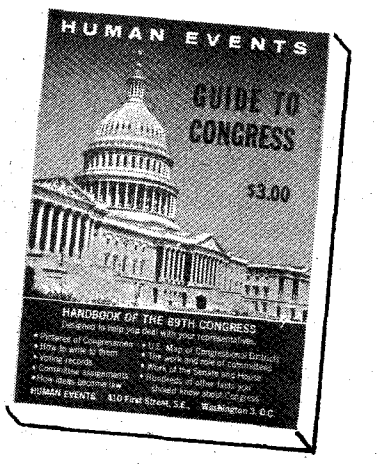

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